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Bosnian Parties Meet UN Officials in New York

AU0203124793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, held two and a half hours of talks yesterday with the cochairmen of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and David Owen. Even after these talks the key stumbling block remains the maps on how to divide Bosnia-Hercegovina into 10 provinces.

Aleksa Buha, minister of foreign affairs of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stated that Vance and Owen agreed that minor changes to the proposed maps can be discussed, but that nothing major could be considered since this would take the negotiations, which in his view have considerably advanced, back to the beginning. The key objection of the Serbian delegation refers to the cutting off of the corridor that links Serbia with Krajina via Bijeljina and with Sarajevo via Zvornik. Radovan Karadzic last night also held talks with the Russian and U.S. representatives in the negotiations, Reginald Bartholomew and Vitaliy Churkin respectively.

Vance and Owen are trying to organize a plenary session today. The session would be attended by the representatives of all three warring factions. If this does not happen, a new meeting will be held with the delegation of the Bosnian Serbs.

Vance and Owen should also meet Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, who arrived in New York from Washington yesterday afternoon. The two cochairmen yesterday held talks with Mate Boban, leader of the Bosnian Croats, who already signed all provisions of the Geneva peace plan at the end of January.

The Croatian side recently refuted the legitimacy of Alija Izetbegovic as president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as the right of Haris Silajdzic [foreign minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina] to speak on behalf of anyone except the Bosnian Muslims.

Aleksa Buha, minister of foreign affairs of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that this was good for the Serbian side, because the situation is now formally clear, too. In other words, no one has the right to usurp the right to speak on behalf of all three peoples, something that has up to now been most frequently abused by the Muslims, and occasionally by a member of the Croatian delegation, Izetbegovic's Prime Minister Mile Akmadzic.

Germany Prefers Bilateral Refugee Accords

AU0203190293 Prague CTK in English 1945 GMT 26 Feb 93

[Text] Bonn, Feb 26 (CTK correspondent)— Germany is not much optimistic about a multilateral solution to the refugee problem and prefers bilateral agreements, which are more operative, German Interior Ministry Spokesman Roland Bachmaier told CTK in Bonn today.

He said Germany fully understood why it had not been invited to the planned meeting of 'transit' states in Prague on March 16, initiated by the Czech Republic.

The meeting will be attended by interior ministers from the Czech and Slovak Republics, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia.

It is understandable that these countries want to meet and discuss whether or not they are capable of agreeing on a united line on the returning refugees, Bachmaier said.

Germany, a target country of thousands of refugees from the former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, and other southeast European and Asian countries, wants to start returning them in April as they arouse strong anti-immigrant sentiments in the country.

The refugees are to be returned to Germany's eastern neighbors—the Czech Republic and Poland. These two countries seek guarantees that the refugees will not remain on their territories, but will be transported further to their countries of origin.

The influx of the refugees would cause immense economic and social problems to both the Czech Republic and Poland on their road of transformation.

Bachmaier said that differing ideas which would crop out at multilateral negotiations would hinder the solution, but admitted that Germany would consider a multilateral settlement of the problem a big success.

If no multilateral arrangement is found, a bilateral German-Czech solution is not ruled out, he said and added that the Czech Republic had informed Bonn of its readiness to hold bilateral talks if no multilateral formula is found.

EBRD Activities in East Europe Reviewed

BR0203154493 Antwerp DE FINANCIEEL-EKONOMISCHE TIJD in Dutch 2 Mar 93 p 7

[Unattributed report: "EBRD Mobilized ECU 7 Billion for East Europe Last Year"]

[Text] London—Last year, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) was able to mobilize ECU [European Currency Unit] 7 billion in capital for investments in East Europe. The relevant amount for the last three quarters of 1991 was only ECU 1.5 billion.

According to the yearly figures published yesterday, the bank itself approved 55 projects last year, representing ECU 1.2 billion in capital.

A total of 71 projects has been approved since the bank's founding in April 1991. Projects approved last year included 12 participations in blocks of shares, 41 credits, and two transactions of a different kind. Two-thirds of the bank's transactions approved last year concern the private sector or privatizations. According to the bank, "most of these projects helped convince foreign investors to invest."

The EBRD has followed special guidelines to spread its risk for granting credit or participation over various countries, industrial sectors, companies, and projects. In 1992, the "East Europe Bank" made ECU 862 million from the market, compared to ECU 500 million the previous year. Since the bank is respected on the capital market, interest costs can be limited.

Czech, Slovak Ministers Disagree on Border Protection

AU0203185893 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 26 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 24 (CTK)— The Czech Republic wants a closely guarded border with the Slovak Republic and is opposed to unrestricted border crossing as during the days of Czechoslovakia, Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml said today at a joint Prague press conference with his Slovak counterpart Jozef Tuchyna.

Tuchyna disagreed by saying that relations between Czechs and Slovaks were different than between other peoples and a protected border was not necessary. Ruml replied he meant a border protected from illegal migrant crossing, not Czechs and Slovaks.

Tuchyna saw the costs accompanying border protection much higher than those Slovakia would incur in handling refugees. He backed his statement by saying that 678 persons were apprehended illegally crossing Slovak-Hungarian border last year and 57 persons crossed to Slovakia from Ukraine.

The two ministers held a meeting today aimed at resolving many outstanding issues in their jurisdictional areas.

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 27 February on page 1 carries a 400-word "hop"-signed report on Ruml's and Tuchyna's news conference, which includes the following passage: "Minister Ruml said that the Czech side was interested in establishing a guarded state border, which requires changes to some intergovernmental agreements. 'We are proposing amending the treaty on the abolition of visa duty for citizens of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Under the amendment, citizens would be able to cross the common border only at designated border crossing points, 12 of which are currently being operated on roads and seven on railroads. A treaty on small border traffic ought to go into force simultaneously with the amended treaty.'" According to the LIDOVE NOVINY report, Slovak Minister Tuchyna presented at the news conference a petition "of the Moravian village Javornik, in which it asks to be annexed to the Slovak Republic." According to Tuchyna, the signatories of the petition cite as the reason for their request their "better contacts with Slovakia as well as the fact that their children attend Slovak schools."]

Walesa Comments on Regional Head Meeting

LD0203123793 Warsaw PAP in English 1148 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava, March 3—Polish President Lech Walesa on Wednesday [3 March] took part in a joint meeting of the presidents of the Czech Republic, Austria and Hungary, hosted by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

President Walesa and the remaining foreign statesmen arrived in Bratislava for the swearing-in ceremony of Slovak President Michal Kovacs.

Lech Walesa said the meeting was devoted to the general situation in Europe and the development of regional cooperation. "Some sources of tension have been eliminated owing to the break-up of blocs, but new ones have appeared. Together, we can overcome those threats more effectively," said President Walesa.

Berisha Calls for NATO Control Over Kosovo

AU0103151393 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 27-28 Feb 93 p 5

[Report by Rose-Marie Borngaesser: "Berisha Calls For NATO Control Over Kosovo"]

[Text] Tirana—Albanian President Berisha fears that the Serbian aggression will spread to Kosovo and Macedonia. In an interview with DIE WELT, Berisha did not leave any doubt that his country will not permit similar things to happen in Kosovo as in Bosnia. "Albania does not want to change borders by force, but it will never permit ethnic cleansing in Kosovo," Berisha said. Therefore, Kosovo must be placed under NATO control as quickly as possible, since UN control has not been respected so far. Above all, it is necessary to return all human and civil rights to the Albanians in Kosovo. The same thing applies to the Albanians who live in Macedonia.

The president did not leave any doubt that he is disappointed about Europe's behavior. Before the war in Bosnia began, all diplomats concurrently stated that one would react immediately. Nevertheless, Milosevic invaded Bosnia and Croatia, "and everyone looked on while the people there were killed." Berisha added: "A dictator is giving orders to Europe—not the dictator of a big state, not even the dictator of a medium-sized state—and Europe remains passive." Berisha warned that this war might destroy the entire Balkans in some sort of chain reaction and, in the end, might also spread to the CIS states. Asked whether Tirana is striving for a "Greater Albania," Berisha said: "I once again stress that one cannot change borders arbitrarily anymore, only in a passive way, as has been done in Germany or in Czechoslovakia."

The Serbian policy of aggression is endangering Albania, not only in terms of foreign policy, but it also makes economic recovery more difficult. After decades of dictatorship and total isolation, it is now also affected by the embargo imposed against Serbia. "It destroys more in our country than in Serbia," Berisha said.

Defense, Border Installations To Be Opened To World Media

AU0203111693 Tirana ATA in English 0909 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 2 (ATA)—President Berisha has invited in Albania outstanding representatives of the world press. They will visit the Albanian regions bordering Kosovo and the Albanian military installations. The report of the press office of the Cabinet of President underlines that the Albanian policy is diametrically opposed to the claims of foreign press in many a case, in regard to Albania's committment in case of conflict and its possible military allies. The spokesman of the president underlines that "Albania is making no military preparations to go to war over Kosovo, although President Berisha has not ruled out any option in the event of 'ethnic cleansing' or a massacre by the Serbs in Kosovo." He has made it clear that Albania "supports the peaceful struggle of the people of Kosovo under the leadership of President Rugova, for political and human rights in keeping with the principles established by both Helsinki accord and the U.N."

This initiative aims to make known the Albanian position throughtout the world and to avoid speculations of the press. The report of the press office explains that the foreign reporters will arrive in Tirana and then will be guided to the right direction and will be provided with passes. Interviews will also be arranged and safety of reporters is guaranteed. The spokesman of the president reports that they can also arrange interviews with the president and the minister of defense who will give further explanations in regard to the Albanian attitude.

'Outstanding' World Press Representatives Invited

AU0203185993 Tirana ATA in English 1821 GMT 2 Mar 93

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* Berisha Pitches Arab Investment

93AF0352A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 15 Feb 93 p 10

[Interview With Albanian President Sali Berisha by Huda al-Husayni in Tirana; date not given: "Albanian

President Sali Berisha: No Return to Dictatorship in Albania; We Look Forward to Arab Investments"]

[Excerpts] When Dr. Sali Berisha was elected president of Albania, the Albanian people became certain that they had become free and that 50 years of dictatorial communist rule—a rule that had isolated Albania and put its people in jails and detention camps—had ended forever. [passage omitted]

At his presidential office, located in a modest building, Berisha greeted me with an anecdote that had been told to him by a Lebanese friend about Wasa Pasha, a governor of Albanian extraction who ruled Lebanon during the Ottoman Sultanate. Berisha said that his Lebanese friend told him that Wasa loved money so much that when he died, verses were written about this love. I recalled the verse that says:

"Let coins ring on his tombstone;
And I assure you he will be revived."

The Albanian president laughed and said that the fact that Albanians, who are very poor, love money makes him optimistic about Albania's future.

The following is the text of the interview with Albanian President Sali Berisha:

[Husayni] Can democracy survive under the shadow of starvation, poverty, and a high unemployment rate, as is the case in Albania right now?

[Berisha] There is absolutely no doubt that an objective of democracy is prosperity. There is also absolutely no doubt that prosperity and freedom coexist. Freedom creates conditions and circumstances that pave the way to release prosperity and development. But for Albania, the situation is very difficult because Albanians spent half a century under an unimaginably terrible dictatorship and in a society based completely on the group. Albanians have now awakened from that deep and exhausting "slumber" and have found that they are Europe's poorest people and among the world's poorest people. The problem of poor among the rich is a most difficult problem, and this happens to be Albania's problem.

[Husayni] Does the Albanian citizen have the initiative to save himself?

[Berisha] Yes. Insofar as private individual initiative is concerned, Albanians are very strong and firm people. One reason for my optimism about the Albanian people's future is their love of money. The Albanian loves money. This is well known, even in your literature. The most prominent example is Wasa Pasha, a governor of Albanian extraction. I believe that this Albanian characteristic is very conducive to the emergence of individual initiative.

[Husayni] When will we be able to notice some progress, and when will the new Albania actually emerge?

[Berisha] I believe that 15 years or more are needed for the new Albania to emerge and mature as a state. I have no illusions, and I am aware of the difficulties we are facing. But positive change has already begun. Had you come here six months ago and then returned today, you would certainly be able to notice the difference. In any case, I have data and facts. We started with a 15 percent monthly inflation rate, which we have now reduced to a monthly rate of 3.5 percent. This is an amazing drop. We have also succeeded in establishing security, considering that anarchy and disorder had spread prior to the general elections. We enjoy now the same security level as other countries.

We have succeeded in transforming the public sector into a private sector and in distributing land to the people. We have also approved a bill on housing, and we will give houses to their inhabitants. At present, we are turning ownership of businesses over to the citizens. All of this means that we are moving forward with the reforms and that the reform is working for the benefit of Albania.

[Husayni] Do you feel more tired day after day?

[Berisha] It is a difficult task. But I have lived a hard life, and I have become accustomed to hardship. This is why I will carry on with my task.

[Husayni] You have mentioned what the democratic government has accomplished. What are the main problems or difficulties you are facing?

[Berisha] The most difficult problems we are facing in this phase are connected with investment and with providing work opportunities. These are very important issues to us because we continue to privatize the public sector, and this means a reduced employment rate. This is why we must create other work opportunities.

[Husayni] As an incentive to investors, you have promised proper and uncomplicated laws. But some firms complain about the difficult conditions imposed on them. Consequently, they have decided to withdraw and depart from Albania.

[Berisha] What you say is true. But everybody must know that the difficulty is not in the laws. The laws are very good, and if you peruse them you will become certain of this. But there is a gap between passing a law and implementing it. A law cannot be truly implemented if it is not actually applied in people's minds, and herein lies the problem. Albania was a tightly sealed society. I am aware that foreigners face some difficulties. I ask them to be patient. Ultimately, they will gain.

[Husayni] Does this mean that you have another mission, namely, to change the [Albanian] mentality?

[Berisha] This is fundamental. It is very vital for the country to change the people's reactions and mentality.

This mentality began to change with the start of private ownership, starting with land ownership.

[Husayni] Can you say that Albania has emerged finally from the dark tunnel of the past, or is it still threatened?

[Berisha] We have made considerable strides and have begun to see light in the distance. We are heading toward this light, and there will be absolutely no turning back to the darkness.

[Husayni] What has happened to the Sigurimi, the secret police agency?

[Berisha] We have dismissed them. We have expelled more than 80 percent of them, keeping only some young men who did not soil their conscience by torturing people.

[Husayni] Don't you think that Albania must have its own Nuremberg trials?

[Berisha] I am not for Nuremberg-type trials.

[Husayni] Why?

[Berisha] I am for symbolic trials.

[Husayni] What do you mean by symbolic?

[Berisha] Bringing to trial some officials who are responsible for proven and specific crimes. There has to be a balance between justice and charity. All dictatorial regimes have done two things: They have distorted justice and eliminated charity. We must promote both simultaneously. If we establish justice without mercy, then it will be a frightening justice. But if we avoid meting out punishment in order to entrench justice, then we will create numerous problems. This is why I am for symbolic trials.

[Husayni] You have talked about proven and specific crimes?

[Berisha] Yes, bringing to trial those who are responsible for this type of crime.

[Husayni] Regarding the trial of Mrs. Nexhmije Hoxha, widow of the late dictator Enver Hoxha, I have noticed that many Albanians have rejected the principle of trying her for just embezzling a certain amount of dollars. Albanians believe that she has committed proven crimes.

[Berisha] She has been tried only in connection with the funds because she has confessed to embezzling funds to which she was not entitled. For example, if I wish to see a friend and offer him a gift, then what right do I have to help myself to state funds? I must spend my own money. If I do not have enough money, then I must select a small gift that does not cost much. Mrs. Hoxha used state funds for personal things, and she has been tried for this conduct.

[Husayni] You are trying her for spending money and forgiving her for committing crimes against the people!

[Berisha] Permit me to explain this issue. She was not a political bureau member. According to what I have been told by magistrates and investigators, they have not found tangible documents confirming her involvement in the commission of crimes.

[Husayni] Do you think that she is innocent and that what Albanians have told me about her being the actual ruler in the final years of her husband's rule because he was ill and disabled is untrue?

[Berisha] No, she is not innocent at all. I have not meant to absolve her. She was very influential, exactly like the wife of the late Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu. She is a very strong woman. But whatever was committed, it was committed through the political bureau.

She was the main mover, but the political bureau was the party that issued the executive orders and made the decisions. This is the issue.

She was very strong and dominant, and she was behind numerous tragedies. But she moved the political bureau members to adopt the documented resolutions.

[Husayni] Are you going to bring the members of the political bureau of the former Communist Party to trial?

[Berisha] Other trials will be conducted, and, I reiterate, they will be for proven crimes. I reject mass trials. I want to entrench the principle of justice with mercy and to focus on real and proven crimes.

[Husayni] Do you consider it an obstacle that some of the current government officials lack experience in managing state affairs?

[Berisha] Of course, certainly. This is a real obstacle. But we must learn that we are in a new age and that Albanians have spent most of their life in jails and detention camps. Now, with freedom and democracy, we are paying the price of past oppression.

[Husayni] Are you enlisting the help of foreign experts?

[Berisha] Yes, we have numerous experts.

[Husayni] Nearly two weeks ago, you were faced with strikes by mine and petroleum workers. Did you capitulate to all of the workers' demands?

[Berisha] No.

[Husayni] How was the solution developed?

[Berisha] According to the new law, justice intervenes when a problem develops between management and workers. The issue is in the court's hands now.

What did the workers demand? They demanded wages amounting to 75 percent of European mine workers' monthly wages. This demand exceeds our capability by leaps and bounds. I am pained by their difficult conditions, but we do not have the money. To be utterly honest, we are exerting all efforts to achieve the best. Even after the lapse of many years, I will not be able to promise the workers that they will collect wages amounting to three-quarters European wages. A long time will pass before Albania is able to ensure this percentage.

[Husayni] If the people lose patience and refuse to wait many years, do you think that you will find yourself compelled to become a dictator?

[Berisha] Absolutely not. I will never agree to restore dictatorship to Albania. To me, this is a final option. Whatever happens, I cannot become a dictator. I am not in this position because I aspire to exercise power. I am here because I started the resistance some years ago, and I did not start it because I wanted power or the presidency. I started performing my duty as an intellectual, and I started telling things as they were. My simple philosophy at the time was: I have made decisions, and I accept all of the expected risks. I did not start on this path for the sake of a day when I would establish a party or become vice president or president of the Republic. Therefore, I stress that there is no force that could compel me to commit the sin of becoming a dictator.

[Husayni] Do you adopt a certain method to persuade people to wait?

[Berisha] The Albanian people understand the situation. I have before me details about reform in Albania, and they will be published in a few days. The results are very encouraging. We have recorded the best progress among East Europe's countries.

[Husayni] What has happened to the Albanian gold that was frozen in London during World War II?

[Berisha] It is still frozen in London because there are problems with the Americans. We are trying to solve these problems.

[Husayni] Will the release of this gold help you?

[Berisha] The sum is not more than $17 million, meaning that it is not a very large sum.

[Husayni] What are you going to do with all these reinforced-cement bunkers that look like flying saucers and that are spread all over Albania? They are a frightening sight.

[Berisha] We want to tear them out because they look scary, but we need money. Farmers resort to a primitive method to face the cold of the night in these bunkers—they burn old tires to keep themselves warm.

[Husayni] Some observers consider Albania to be a Third World country, not a European country. What do you say? What is your comment?

[Berisha] Economically, yes. But as for culture, Albania enjoys one of the highest cultural standards.

[Husayni] Do you plan to make official visits to the Arab world, and what point have relations between Albania and the Arab world reached?

[Berisha] I have made official visits to Kuwait and Egypt, and I want very much to visit other Arab countries to open Albania up to the Arab world. I also want to visit Lebanon.

[Husayni] Do you see Albania approaching a new phase with the new U.S. administration?

[Berisha] I believe that we have very good relations with the United States. The relations with former President George Bush's administration were good, and they will remain so with President Bill Clinton. Our contacts continue.

[Husayni] What was the purpose behind the visit by a big Iranian delegation to Albania?

[Berisha] They came to establish economic cooperation.

[Husayni] Do you welcome any economic aid?

[Berisha] We welcome any economic cooperation that submits fully to our constitution and principles and obeys the provisions of our laws.

[Husayni] Meaning that you reject infiltration through an economic facade?

[Berisha] Completely, and we will not permit it.

[Husayni] Do you envision any change in the region's borders?

[Berisha] The region is faced with a tragic situation. The ideal policy for the region now is to respect the borders as they are, not to change them. This is because I believe that the most important thing needed by the people of the region is democracy so that they can establish a market economy, which bolsters democracy. If we seek to achieve ethnic rights by inflaming violent ethnic sentiments, then we must realize that these rights will be of no use because of the tragedies that will be created for each of the region's countries by the achievement of these rights.

What is more important now is to avoid a new Balkan war and to get quick results.

[Husayni] Are you talking of Kosovo as a part of Albania?

[Berisha] I am talking about the entire region, because, to be true, the situation is very sensitive. As for Kosovo, what we ask for is respect for the human rights of each ethnic group.

[Husayni] You are sticking to the side of caution and overlooking the issue where Kosovo is concerned, and you avoid saying openly that it is a part of Albania. Is this because you do not possess the strength to back up words and because you are still at the beginning of a new phase and are interested in economic stability?

[Berisha] I am against war and against altering borders by war and force. This is a principle to which I adhere.

[Husayni] Your defense minister visited Turkey and Hungary last week. Was the visit connected with the war in Yugoslavia?

[Berisha] Even though we are greatly interested in the war and its developments, the visit was connected with normal cooperation between our countries.

[Husayni] But he is a defense minister.

[Berisha] And he is entitled to move and make visits.

[Husayni] Is there military cooperation between Albania and Turkey on the situation in Macedonia and Kosovo?

[Berisha] We have cooperation with Turkey and other countries.

[Husayni] Military cooperation?

[Berisha] Partly military.

[Husayni] Are you prepared to embark on war for the sake of Kosovo if ethnic cleansing is started there?

[Berisha] If ethnic cleansing is started, Albanians will fight with everything at their disposal.

[Husayni] All Albanians who are here and who are....

[Berisha] All Albanians, and the international community, as well.

[Husayni] Have they given you an assurance to this effect?

[Berisha] The assurance comes from the principles observed by the international community.

[Husayni] It is noticed that the Serbs are in a difficult position. They may start a war in Macedonia or in Kosovo to alleviate the pressure on other fronts.

[Berisha] In such a case, Albania will not be the only country to respond. A Balkan war will break out if the Serbs try to start a war in Kosovo or Macedonia.

[Husayni] Should something happen, will you open your doors to Albanian refugees?

[Berisha] If something should happen, as you say, it will be totally impossible to control the situation.

[Husayni] Can Albania withstand an allout war?

[Berisha] We do not seek war. We fight to establish peace. We try our best to end war and preserve peace.

[Husayni] Why has Greece started deporting Albanians living in it illegally? What kind of pressure does it want to put on Albania?

[Berisha] There are some parties in Greece who are not interested in good relations with Albania. But I am optimistic, and I do not think that these parties can create major problems between our two countries.

Some Greek commentators reiterate a phrase on the situation in Macedonia that says: "There is just one solution in the north, and it lies directly along the border with Serbia."

They are wrong. The only solution for them is in having borders with a democratic state. This applies to all states. War can never break out between two democratic states. Those Greeks who demand the abolition of Macedonia are wrong.

[Husayni] Do you want the Albanians here, in Kosovo, and in Macedonia to be united ultimately?

[Berisha] First, we must achieve an economic merger among ourselves while maintaining breathing space and attaining the possibility of a establishing a market economy. By merging, Albanians can accomplish all of their dreams and aspirations.

[Husayni] Is there any split between the Albanians in Kosovo and the Albanians in Macedonia?

[Berisha] The number of Albanians in the entire region is 6 million. If one group of Albanians is faced with such steps as ethnic cleansing, Albanians will confront the steps collectively.

[Husayni] Do you encourage foreign military intervention in Bosnia, or do you approve of the plan drafted by Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance?

[Berisha] It is very difficult to implement this plan.

[Husayni] Why?

[Berisha] It involves numerous provinces. Moreover, this plan has, in one way, accepted the Serbian aggressions, and it has not raised the question of trying war criminals.

The plan has not dealt with numerous problems and it needs to be modified.

[Husayni] Do you have an alternative plan for Bosnia?

[Berisha] Disarming all of the parties and bolstering the government. When all are disarmed, Bosnian citizens can find peace again.

[Husayni] Meaning that you do not encourage lifting the ban on the Muslim side and delivering weapons to this side?

[Berisha] If full disarmament is not achieved, then it becomes necessary to lift the ban and to secure weapons for the Bosnians.

[Husayni] Do you see an end to the war in Yugoslavia?

[Berisha] The war has turned into a chronic condition, and it is difficult to end it.

[Husayni] You were a member of the Communist Party. Did you resign before you launched your campaign against the government?

[Berisha] I decided to join the Communist Party in order to launch my war against it from within. The decision to join the party and launch the campaign was a scary decision because we lived in dictatorial times and because a single minute was enough to liquidate me.

[Husayni] You have refused to move from your small house and live in the presidential palace. Is this because you are afraid that you will forget the true conditions of ordinary people?

[Berisha] And I will stay in my small house. I need to be among people and amidst my affiliations, where I have always been. I guess that I wanted my term to be a yardstick for the new Albania.

Talks To Be Held With Greece on Mutual Relations

AU0203120393 Tirana International Service in German 1330 GMT 1 Mar 93

[Text] Following a proposal from the Greek Government, the Albanian Government has decided to (?organize) a meeting of a joint Albanian-Greek government delegation in order to eliminate misunderstandings, to regulate the status of Albanian immigrants in Greece, and further develop bilateral relations of cooperation, in areas of mutual [word indistinct].

For several days now, no Albanian immigrants have been turned back from the Greek-Albanian border. A telephone conversation between Albanian President Sali Berisha and Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis seems to have paved the way to a settlement of the problem of immigrant workers, the Albanian news agency ATA reports.

Radio Tries To Confirm Missile Transfer Report

AU0203122293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] [Announcer] The British press mention Bulgaria again today, and like the article published by THE OBSERVER, in its Sunday [28 February] edition, the reports are connected with allegations about Russian-Serbian military cooperation.

Let's hear from our London reporter, Tanya Uzunova, on the subject:

[Begin Uzunova recording] THE LONDON TIMES today repeats the contents of an article that appeared in the Sunday paper THE OBSERVER, according to which Russia has signed a secret agreement on supplying the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia with tanks and antiaircraft missiles.

The name of Bulgaria is involved in this rather confusing and so far still unconfirmed story. THE TIMES repeats the allegation that the negotiations between Russia and Serbia were conducted in Sofia, but it adds something new. Referring to sources close to the Bulgarian Government, as it claims, the daily reports the alleged redeployment of 300-mile range SCUD missiles from the Bulgarian-Turkish border to the Bulgarian-Serbian border because of Bulgaria's concern about Serbia's intentions regarding Macedonia and Kosovo.

The interesting fact is that Mr. Paul (Beaver) of JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY is cited as the only source of this information. The journal is supposed to be planning to publish a detailed article on the Russian-Serbian agreement in its forthcoming Thursday [4 March] edition, which should also provide details on Bulgaria's involvement. It appears that the British journal in question has published portions of the article in advance, submitting them to the major British dailies, such as THE TIMES and THE OBSERVER, for public relations purposes. [End recording].

[Announcer] As a matter of fact, the publication of this article seems to be the most topical event in our country today, with the exception of the upcoming national holiday of course. For this reason, we made some telephone calls to obtain more details on the issue.

[Unidentified report] We have just telephoned Colonel Willi Markus [name as heard], chief of the EC observers mission on border control, whose representatives are inspecting our Western borders. Colonel Markus told us that he had learned about the allegations in question from our Bulgarian Radio. He promised us he would contact the Ministry of Defense to obtain more information in the next few hours.

We intend to ask Colonel Markus for his own brief comment on the situation as soon as we have heard from him.

[Announcer] In addition to this, we are trying to contact the Ministry of Defense for officials positions and views on the subject. We also intend to interview the political scientist Georgi Karasimeonov on the issue in one of our later programs.

Defense Ministry Denies Report

AU0203144993 Sofia BTA in English 1418 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—In connection with a publication in today's issue of THE TIMES cited on the Khorizont programme of the National Radio alleging that Bulgarian missiles, left over after the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, have been redeployed near Bulgaria's border with Serbia the Press Service of the Ministry of Defense announced as follows:

Missiles of foreign armed forces have never been deployed in Bulgarian territory. All available missiles belong to the Bulgarian Army.

There has been no redeployment of troops or missiles of any kind. The units of the Bulgarian Army have their regular training in or near their permanent garrisons.

The Ministry of Defense is surprised at the fact that an authoritative publication like THE TIMES has published untrue information.

Repeating the information ran in THE OBSERVER on Sunday [28 February], THE TIMES writes today that part of the secret negotiations between Russia and Serbia on the delivery of weapons were held in Sofia, the national radio correspondent reported on the Khorizont programme from London. Referring to sources close to the Bulgarian Government, the paper adds that SCUD missiles ranging 300 km have been moved from the Turkish to the Serb border because Sofia was worried by Serbia's designs on Macedonia and Kosovo, the correspondent said.

JANE'S Editor Comments on TIMES Missiles Story

AU0203195493 Sofia BTA in English 1940 GMT 2 Mar 93

["Defence Ministry Denies Allegations in the TIMES"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—This evening Radio Sofia broadcast a report from its London correspondent, Tanya Uzunova, in connection with today's publication in THE TIMES. According to Mr. Paul Beaver, editor in chief of the prestigious military publication JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, referred to as the source of the piece of information, Sunday's [28 February] publication in THE OBSERVER and today's material in THE TIMES are exaggerated and unprecise. Mr. Beaver and his weekly are not in possession of any information about Russia and Serbia having held negotiations in Sofia. Mr. Beaver considers the Bulgarian official denial of the allegations as perfectly logical. Should the Bulgarian Government have really acted like this, I would be much surprised, he said. He believes that the holding of such meeting in Bulgaria contradicts the logic of Bulgaria's present policy pursued in the Balkans. Bulgaria shows great maturity and wisdom and, unlike its neighbours, it is very cautious when its activity in the Balkans is concerned, Mr. Beaver pointed out in the interview with the correspondent of Radio Sofia. He said that he had briefed THE TIMES journalists about the military situation in the Balkans, Bulgaria included, but that in today's publication his words were exaggerated and distorted, Tanya Uzunova reported from London. Mr. Beaver attributed the redeployment of missiles to the restructuring of the Bulgarian Army and said this was a matter of routine. However, it is true, Mr. Beaver said, that Bulgaria now believes it is not Turkey, but rather Serbia and the situation in Macedonia that pose a potential military threat to it. According to him, there is no contract between Russia and Serbia for the delivery of weapons, the use of the word "contract" by the British press was unprecise.

After the report was broadcast, national radio analyst Aleksandur Vladkov said that it would be good if Mr. Paul Beaver wrote all he had told the Bulgarian correspondent in the British press or in his magazine.

Foreign Ministry Protests Against Danube Blockade

AU0203180593 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—Today the Ministry of Foreign Affairs came out with a declaration expressing "great concern over blocking the waterway of the Danube at the Romanian Iron Gate Lock by Serb Vessels." Describing the actions of Serb vessels as "unlawful and irresponsible," the ministry points out that by the demurrage of Bulgarian vessels in result of Serbian blockade Bulgaria has been inflicted great losses.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs considers that the implementation of countermeasures by the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro against the countries, which observe the sanctions of the United Nations Security Council is an impermissible act, not counting the present blockade, the Danubian countries have already suffered considerable losses, the declaration says. The ministry joins the appeal made by the chairman of the United Nations Security Council on February 26 for lifting the blockade immediately. It qualifies the violation of the internationally established regime of navigation on the Danube by Serbia and Montenegro as "gross and absolutely unfounded."

The declaration expresses special concern over publications in the press informing about Serbia's threats to blow up the dike at Prahovo and alter the waterway. "Such threats cannot be seen in any other way but as environmental terrorism that will have unpredictable consequences for the countries in the region," the declaration goes on to say. The Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs calls on the United Nations Security Council, the representations of the Danubian countries and the European Community member-states to prevail upon the Government of Serbia and Montenegro to lift the "unlawful blockade" of the Danube.

Army Staff Chief Views Results of Ukraine Visit

AU0203152793 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Feb 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, by Lieutenant Colonel Vladi Vladkov; place and date not given: "Readiness To Continue Military Cooperation"]

[Text] Last week a Bulgarian military delegation led by Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, was on an official visit to Ukraine. After his return, Gen. Petrov answered questions from a BULGARSKA ARMIYA representative on the results of the meetings and talks in Kiev.

[Vladkov] Army General Petrov, what was the reason for your visit, and what meetings did you have in Kiev?

[Petrov] The visit was arranged under the Agreement on Bilateral Cooperation Between the Defense Ministries of Bulgaria and Ukraine and was at the invitation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces General Staff.

We held official talks with Ukrainian Defense Minister Colonel General Morozov and with Col. Gen. Anatoliy Lopata, chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces General Staff. We exchanged information on the progress of the military reforms in the two countries and discussed the possibilities for mutual cooperation in supplying each side's Armed Forces with essential materials, equipment, and spare parts.

[Vladkov] Did you sign any documents?

[Petrov] Yes, with Col. Gen. Lopata we signed a plan for implementing the provisions of the agreement between our Defense Ministries on bilateral cooperation in the military equipment, military-economic, military-scientific, and other fields during 1993. The plan was finally drafted prior to our visit by a Bulgarian Army General Staff delegation led by Lt. Gen. Lyuben Pekhlivanov.

[Vladkov] Your program included a visit to the town of Starokonstantinov. What did you see of interest there?

[Petrov] This is a small town built by Bulgarian construction workers for the needs of Ukrainian servicemen. We saw for ourselves that the building work had been completed to a very high standard of quality and that the Ukrainian Defense Ministry has applied a modern approach in solving their servicemen's social and living problems.

[Vladkov] Army General Petrov, what conclusions are you able to draw from our military delegation's visit to Ukraine?

[Petrov] We returned convinced that Ukraine is fully prepared to continue cooperation in the fields outlined by the two Defense Ministries. Our Ukrainian partners are ready to provide us with engines, assemblies, and equipment that the Bulgarian Army needs.

Germany Opens Commercial Liaison Office

AU0203190893 Sofia BTA in English 1415 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—A German economic representation was opened here today. The purpose of this step is to assist and finance Bulgarian-German economic contacts and to place them on a new basis, Mr. Bernd Kiterer, representative of the German Union of Industry and Commerce, said at a press conference. We also wish to assist German investment in Bulgaria.

The representation will consult and assist enterprises of the two countries seeking to establish contacts. It plans to organize days of the German economy in Bulgaria, establish partnership between chambers of industry and commerce, consult Bulgarian economic institutions and include Bulgaria into the cooperation exchange of the German Union of Industry and Commerce.

Economic contacts between Bulgaria and Germany are now only one-third of the commercial exchange between Bulgaria and the former GDR till 1990. The first signs of a slow down in this decline were observed last year but its overcoming will depend on the development of the economic reform in Bulgaria and above all on the progress of privatization and the structural adjustment of banking, the German business representatives said. At present there are concessions in Bulgaria's trade with the Eastern states of the former GDR guaranteeing duty-free import of some goods but such measures are not adequate from the long-term point of view. Both Bulgaria and the states of the former GDR should seek to unify the criteria and to cooperation with world markets.

The press conference stressed the importance of eased visa requirements for business visits and the restriction of red tape in the establishment of contacts between representatives of the business circles.

Zhelev Calls Politicians To Serve 'National Interest'

AU0203201293 Sofia BTA in English 1957 GMT 2 Mar 93

["National Interest Is Focussed on Economic Reform, President Zhelev Says"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—Addressing the nation on the occasion of the 115th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman domination, President Zhelyu Zhelev said that "the builders of today's democratic Bulgaria should demonstrate more will and persistence in the construction of civil society, a state committed to the rule of law and a market economy."

The Bulgarian president believes that present-day politicians could contribute a lot more to Bulgaria's progress if they placed the national interests above everything else. "The national interest is neither an invention or fantasy nor mere talk," Dr. Zhelev said. In his opinion, Bulgaria's national interest now is focussed on the implementation of economic reforms and the prerequisite for accommodating it is the achievement of some form of consensus.

"Consensus should be sought and reached both with regard to the country's foreign policy and with regard to its national security, consensus should be achieved for the sake of the economic reform, too, no matter how difficult this may be," the president said. In his view, the reform cannot be the goal or the programme of an individual political force, even if it has made its start in this way, today it is a cause the whole nation must work for, it embodies the interests of a huge part of the Bulgarian people. The economic reform which is aimed to replace the system has no other alternative, that is why it should be implemented boldly, consistently and at a quick pace, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev stressed in his address broadcast on the national radio and television.

The Bulgarian president said that the restitution of covered urban property should be completed this year, that the land should be reversed to its former owners allocating land to all people who live in the rural areas and want to engage in farming. "This is something we can achieve, the only thing that is needed is political will," he said adding "political will on the part of the government, parliament, the parliamentary and the extraparliamentary forces, support on the part of trade unions and, what matters most, people's persistence to get their land back." "Prof. Berov's cabinet which took office as the government of privatization and really made it start, should continuously speed up the process, even with the risk of making some mistakes," Dr. Zhelev said. The Bulgarian president pointed out that the government should secure absolute transparence about the progress of reform providing the national radio and television with day-to-day information on it. "People must know every day how much land has been restituted, how many and what kind of economic units have been put up for privatization and how many of those already put up have been sold," Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said. In his opinion, Bulgaria is so late with carrying out the structural part of the reform that it cannot afford to drag it out any more and further delay the changes.

The celebrations of March 3, the Day of Bulgaria's Liberation From Ottoman Domination, began by festive meetings, concerts, exhibitions and wreath-laying ceremonies.

President Zhelyu Zhelev greeted the leaderships of the Ministry of Defence and the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army on the occasion of Bulgaria's National Day, March 3.

Minister of Defence Valentin Aleksandrov gave a cocktail party marking Bulgaria's National Day. The party was attended by National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, representatives of the parliamentary political forces, members of the cabinet, generals and officers of the Bulgarian Army and foreign military attaches accredited to Bulgaria.

New Round of Foreign Debt Talks Ends in Frankfurt

AU0203211093 Sofia BTA in English 2026 GMT 2 Mar 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—In connection with recent disputes between lawyers and the cabinet whether turnover tax should be levied on legal services or not, the government today asked parliament to make an authentic interpretation of the Turnover Tax and Excise Duties Act.

The Ministry of Agriculture today considered the opportunities for distribution of land use areas under perennial crops. The Agriculture Ministry proposed that original owners be restituted to their lands after they pay for the perennial crops, Mr. Dimitur Dinkov, chief of the Land Reform Department at the Ministry of Agriculture told a news conference today. [passage omitted]

The latest round of Bulgaria's foreign debt settlement negotiations with commercial creditors ended in Frankfurt today, the Bulgarian national radio reported this evening. The national radio quoted Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov as saying that Bulgaria could suspend its interest payments to commercial creditor banks if they stuck to their firm positions assumed in December 1992. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria was represented at the annual conference of the Academy for European Security and Cooperation in Berlin by Mr. Stoyan Stalev, Bulgarian ambassador to Germany and Dr. Emil Minchev, vice president of the Scientific and Consultative Board of the academy and director of the Bulgarian Institute of International Studies.

Mr. Ivan Genov MP [member of parliament] of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] told a regular news conference today that the BSP stands for a pragmatic and deideologized foreign policy. According to him, the "prospects to Bulgaria," an alternative programme for this country's development drafted by the BSP, set the priorities in Bulgaria's foreign policy on its integration into the European structures, the Balkan policy, the relations with central and East European states and the CIS. BSP is for permanent dialogue and cooperation with the United States, but it also considers that Democratizing Russia is a serious factor in international relations, too, Mr. Ivan Genov said.

At its regular meeting today, the top leadership of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) considered organizational matters concerning the forthcoming SDS national conference scheduled to take place on March 13 and 14.

A declaration released by the Federation of Mechanical Engineers and Metal Workers with the Podkrepa Labour Confederation today insisted on an immediate dialogue with the Industry Ministry on the signing of a branch agreement. The Federation declared strike alert on March 1 and today threatened to call a termless effective strike if talks did not begin within a week.

In connection with certain allegations in the press that the leadership of the Bulgarian State Railways (BDZ) hushed up rail accidents, the BDZ director general, Mr. Atanas Tonev told a special news conference today that "none of the BDZ's executives has ever given instructions that rail accidents be hushed up."

On the eve of March 3, Bulgaria's national holiday and the date on which the San Stefano Peace Treaty was signed in 1878 marking the end of Ottoman domination, a memorial service was held to commemorate medical workers killed in the Russo-Turkish War. The ceremony was attended by Vice President Blaga Dimitrova and Russian Ambassador in Sofia Aleksandr Avdeyev.

The Federation of Friendship with the Peoples of Russia and the CIS opened its Second National Conference here today. The delegates discussed changes in the federation's statutes, approved a programme of activities and elected a new leadership. Mr. Zakhari Zakhariev MP of the BSP-led coalition was re-elected chairman of the Federation. President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, and the Russian ambassador to Bulgaria. Aleksandr Avdeyev, sent greetings to the forum. [passage omitted]

Relations With Cuba 'Frozen,' Embassy 'Not Staffed'

AU0203190593 Prague CTK in English 2121 GMT 26 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 26 (CTK)— The newly independent Czech Republic will maintain frozen diplomatic relations with Cuba provided the current political situation on the island persists, Martin Povejsil from the Czech Foreign Ministry today told the EFE Spanish news agency.

The Czech Republic still keeps its embassy in Havana which, however, is not staffed, given the current state of mutual relations. Only the charge d'affaires currently represents the Czech Republic in Cuba.

Povejsil, chief of the ministry department for Africa, Asia and Latin America, said that Cuba refuses to negotiate its debt towards the former Czechoslovakia arguing that political differences between the two countries are insurmountable and the scope for their mutual economic cooperation is minimal.

Taking into account the interests and trade surpluses in 1990 and 1991, Cuba owes the Czech Republic one billion convertible rubles, Povejsil said. As this is a fictitious currency, I am not capable of converting the sum to a reasonable one, he added.

Czech diplomacy is convinced that the Cuban Republic has always been and will remain an important state in the Caribbean, thanks to its geopolitical position. Cuba serves as a bridge between North and South Americas and has strong ties with Europe. Once changes are accomplished in Cuba, this fact will influence the political and economic nature of the country. This is why we want to stay in Havana though currently our political and economic relations are on a very low level, said Povejsil.

Klaus Interviewed on Employment, Romany Issues

LD0203202693 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1745 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Regular weekly interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, conducted by Vaclav Musilek—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Musilek] Prime Minister, unemployment in the Czech Republic is exceptionally low at the moment. However, the full implementation of the law on bankruptcy is likely to change this situation. Do you have any idea of what percentage of enterprises might be affected by bankruptcy, and how this will affect the situation on the labor market?

[Klaus] As you know very well, when the rate of unemployment at the end of last year was about 2.5 percent we knew that it was extremely low, and when we planned how much from the 1993 budget should be given to unemployment benefits, we earmarked funds for something like twice the unemployment rate. That means that we were counting on 4.5 to 5 percent as the figure for which to earmark funds. So this could be the average unemployment rate. I think that it is impossible to say precisely how many enterprises this will affect. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] At the moment the government is forced to deal with the problems of some big enterprises, like Skoda-Plzen, Poldi Kladno, and CKD. Prime Minister, is it really necessary for the government to intervene in this situation? Would it not be better to leave them to their own defenses and let the market work?

[Klaus] Look, the government does not intervene too much. On the other hand, I think that there is no reason for the government to pretend that it does not know anything about the problems of these colossal enterprises and that it should not intervene in some way if it deems it possible and appropriate. This seems quite obvious to me. You know that our government is very liberal and does not intervene in the economy. Until recently many of the enterprises were in some way linked to the government and some things were commissioned by the government. This is why I think that the little that the government does about it is quite appropriate. You know very well that very often the government does not put its own money into it, or the taxpayer's money, and that very often it gives a certain signal or guidelines on how to resolve the matter, helps with this or that. I think that it is alright.

[Musilek] One of the reasons for these interventions is the fact that the adverse situation in some enterprises has been to a great extent caused by secondary insolvency.

[Klaus] This is true, but again it is taking one thing out of context. Very often an enterprise is affected by the loss of market in the [former] Soviet Union, Iraq, or somewhere else. But one reason is never enough. On the contrary, if there is only one reason the situation can be resolved in the majority of cases. Enterprises begin to feel threatened and are threatened precisely at the moment when the reasons begin to accumulate.

[Musilek] Another problem that has often cropped up in the media in the last few weeks is the issue of the Romany minority. You have met the delegation of the Romany Democratic Congress. The government has addressed the problem. However, it is likely to be a long-term matter. Prime Minister, despite this, are there any specific, immediate measures which could at least calm the current situation?

[Klaus] The question is what can and what cannot be resolved. I have empathy with a part of our Romanies in their feeling of being under threat at various levels. First, there is a threat which is a consequence of the new state set-up, which has suddenly made it less certain which citizenship and which state a person does or does not have. There is a subjective feeling of being under threat. Whatever our opinion is, it is a real feeling.

The second reason for losing the feeling of security is undoubtedly the social area. We know well that whenever jobs are cut, firms cease business and unemployment rises anywhere in the world, without exception it is the marginal social, ethnic, national and other groups who are under greater pressure. [passage omitted]

The third fact is that some Romanies themselves give the reason for the feeling of danger. Unfortunately Romanies have a negative role in this, and we are all aware of it. The reaction of the other—extremist—side, is such that the silent Romany majority is on the receiving end of something which is not of their own making, namely the feeling that their families and children are under threat.

These are three phenomena which exist side by side. They are interconnected and affect one another. When analyzed like this, I fully understand and am aware of the problem. The question is what one can do in the short, medium, and long run. [passage omitted]

As for economic and social problems, the solution is difficult; to order someone to employ somebody or not, to recommend who should be the last one out—that is practically impossible. The projects in this area will be small-scale. Again, we have issued directives to district authorities as it is very much a regional, local issue. We told the district job centers to help, and so on. I do not see any other immediate solutions, and everything depends on the general economic situation.

Third, the police and the Ministry of the Interior have been given specific tasks.

I therefore think that we have taken measures at all three levels just mentioned, even though this is my own subdivision and grouping, and not one done by Romany protest committees.

Second Privatization Wave To Be Last

AU0103140193 Prague CTK in English 2056 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 25 (CTK)—Czech ministers agreed that the second wave of the coupon privatisation scheduled to start this summer will be definitely the last one, Premier Vaclav Klaus said after today's meeting of ministers in charge of economy.

The second wave should sufficiently complete privatisation of state property which will total up to 150 billion crowns (5.2 billion USD [U.S. dollars]), Klaus added.

Speaking on the Slovak proposal to introduce imports surcharge tax, Klaus said he believed it being imposed on Czech goods would not end the existing customs union between the two republics. It is more rational to us if it is applied to all countries including the Czech Republic, Klaus said.

'Second Wave' To Resume Mid-Year

LD0203210993 Prague CTK in English 1856 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Prague, Mar 1 (CTK)—The second wave of coupon privatisation should begin around the middle of this year, and shares should be offered in the first round at the end of the year, press spokeswoman for the Ministry for the Administration of National Property and Privatisation Katerina Petrova told CTK today.

The basis for preparation of the second and last wave of coupon privatisation in the Czech Republic is speed and flexibility for a solution which is not relying on a third wave but at the same time not attempting to fit all property into the second wave, Petrova said.

During the second wave, about 500 billion crowns (16.6 billion USD [U.S. dollars]) worth of property should be privatised, Petrova said. Of this, 130-150 billion crowns (4.3-5 billion USD) will be privatised through the sale of coupons, including property worth 10 billion crowns remaining from the first wave. The rest of the property will be privatised by standard methods, Petrova said.

In the first wave, property worth 650 billion crowns (21.6 billion USD) was privatised, including 200 billion crowns worth via coupon privatisation.

Economy Minister Reviews Trip to U.S.

AU0203195293 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Feb 93 p 3

[Report by Josef Pravec, Jana Havligerova: "To Make U.S. Assistance More Efficient: Karel Dyba Comments on His Trip to the United States"]

[Text] The transforming economies in Central Europe remain a subject of interest to U.S. politicians, although the circumstances are forcing the United States to pay more attention to what is happening in Russia, Economy Minister Karel Dyba said in an interview with HOSPODARSKE NOVINY reviewing his trip to the United States.

He said that he believes the new U.S. administration views the situation in the Czech Republic as relatively stable, both politically and economically, and considers the state to be part of West Europe. During the talks Dyba held in the United States, the U.S. officials assured him that the absolute priority in domestic economic policy is effort to reduce the deficit. These endeavors of the U.S. Government are supported by business representatives associated with the Republican Party.

During the meetings with U.S. economists, the assistance of the United States to the Czech economy over the past two years was assessed. Dyba reiterated that greater independence is needed on the Czech side, which can result in more effective influence on the individual programs offered. Greater flexibility also is necessary because some of the projects were originally prepared for developing countries. Our views are respected in the United States because they are interested in increasing the effectiveness of the assistance, Dyba emphasized. Specificity in the aid programs is a matter of further talks—one has to wait for the U.S. administration to get "settled." In any event, greater activity by the Czech-U.S. business communuity is needed and the prominence of U.S. investment should be more pronounced.

Dyba indicated his interest in some assistance with housing issues, particularly in regard to legal matters. These would include introduction of new financial tools that would enable communities to finance construction from sources other than the budget. He also expressed his appreciation of the American consultations concerning Czech communications, particularly those helping to break the domination of the "Czech telecommunication mammoths."

At the same time, from the meetings with U.S. businessmen Dyba had an impression that some of them are disappointed because the fate of their projects in the Czech Republic has not yet been decided there. Therefore, they are impatiently awaiting the end of privatization so they can start direct negotiations with the new private owners of the enterprises.

Senior Officers Refuse To Support Army Purge

AU0203200593 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Feb 93 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "Soldiers in the Ministry Management Team Have Refused To Support a Purge in the Army"]

[Text] Defense Minister Baudys should sign a directive in the next few days regulating cadre issues in the Czech Army. According to circles close to the Defense Ministry, senior officers in the ministry management team have refused to sign a document that would have meant an across-the-board purge in the ranks of the officer corps.

According to our information, the minister has been given several options for the appropriate directive and he will choose one of them. In accordance with his original and most radical views, the minister wanted—as we already know—to declare all career soldiers, who in his opinion agreed with the Warsaw Pact military intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, to be traitors. Apart from this criterion—which has obviously, been abandoned—discharging senior officers over the age of 45 or, as the case may be, all graduates of Soviet military colleges is also being considered.

Of course, it is possible to regard as completely "original" the idea that the army's intelligence administration should also be abolished within the framework of reorganization and cadre changes.

The minister's signature is, basically, sufficient to implement the cadre directive within the department. Nevertheless, the fact that the Defense Ministry's most senior military elite—including Chief of the General Staff General Pezl—are rejecting any major purges indicates considerable disharmony between the civilian politicians and the military experts. The issue involves, first and foremost, fears about the Army's command base and apprehension about a repetition of the cadre "purge" in the Army more than 20 years ago, a purge that would once again deprive a specialist organization like the Army of a considerable part of its intellectual and expert resources.

Army Movements Not Linked to Border Protection

AU0203182193 Prague CTK in English 2049 GMT 26 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 26 (CTK)— The current movements of Czech armed forces along the border with Slovakia have nothing to do with the division of Czechoslovakia and with border protection, Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys told CTK today.

On a visit to Zlin, South Moravia, he said that law does not allow the Army to protect the border. That is why garrisons will not be located at the Slovak-Czech border. We only helped guard the border during the currency split (February 8).

[Prague TELEGRAF in Czech on 27 February on page 2 carries a 200-word CTK report on Minister Baudys' visit to Zlin, which adds the following: "According to Antonin Baudys, military chaplains should be enshrined in the new law on the Army. The minister criticized the inflation of ranks in the Army, especially the number of lieutenant colonels and colonels. He said that the number of officers' positions would have to be subjected to an inquiry. Most people understand, according to the minister, that these changes are necessary."]

Kovac Presents Inauguration Speech

LD0203182693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0955 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Inauguration speech by Slovak President Michal Kovac from the Reduta builiding in Bratislava on 2 March—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Chairman of the National Council, esteemed guests, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, citizens of the Slovak Republic, while I was preparing my inauguration speech my mind wandered to the onset of our national history through which we were led by the rules of Great Moravia. [passage omitted]

Our freedom required great sacrifices of individuals, entire families, and social groups. Opponents of fascist and communist totality were very cruelly punished. They paid both with their freedom and lives for their bravery.

Victims of antifascism and communist totality deserve at this festive moment our respect and gratitute, but also the duty to mitigate the consequences of their suffering. When we are condemning the period of totality, above all after the year 1948, we are not condemning the brave work of millions of honest people or the values that were born thanks to them. We are fully aware of the fact that one can further transform and develop our society on the basis of the results of honest work of millions of people.

I recalled all attempts at Slovak statehood, their rises and defeats, their hopeful prospects and deadlocks. I considered the glory and tragedy of home and foreign resistance, but also enthusiasm and disappointments of entire generations. We are very lucky that we have lived to see the birth of the Slovak democratic state. Through the just and correct fulfilment of the principle of self-determination of people two independent democratic states were born in place of the former Czechoslovakia—the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. History will praise the Slovak and Czech politicians who contributed to this. Our respect goes to the high standards of the Czech political thinking that, with understanding, it adopted legitimity of Slovak requirements for their own statehood.

The birth of the Slovak Republic spelled not only the birth of a new state in Europe, but an old highly cultured people asked to be heard in the family of democratic countries. I should like to say the following to all the doubts about Slovak statehood: the Slovak Republic was established as a modern European state with a democratic constitution. All the republic's citizens, regardless of nationality, religion, and political conviction have equal rights. Freedom of view, expression, information, and assembly is and will be inviolable in our country.

As president I will strive that all might consider the Slovak Republic as their homeland and never feel as foreigners in their homeland. I will exert every effort so that the philosophy of our statehood remains firmly anchored in the principles of plurality, tolerance, and solidarity.

The Slovak Republic, as any new state born of the ruins of a former communist system, is starting its existence with a number of problems. They do not concern just the setting up of the independent state's institutions but above all with the transformation of the economic structure of a totalitarian system into a modern market economy.

The complexity of our situation is exacerbated by the fact that even advanced democratic countries are at present grappling with the problems of economic recession, which makes the solution of our economic and social problems more difficult.

The process of economic transformation is continuing and will continue. With everyday troubles that come in its wake, many are losing the perspective of its goals and purpose. We have opted for a socially-oriented market economy which for us means the restoration and development of private ownership, the freedom of the market, free competition, the economy subordinated to the need of the citizen rather than the powerful state or private monopolies. We have gone some way along this path, a path which is untried, uneven, and not easy. In a newly born economic system of the new state we must think carefully about the line dividing the authority of the state from the demands of the market. We want the minimum of state control over economy and the minimum of state interference in the economy.

It is true, however, that we have to create, as anywhere in the world, a mechanism of socially effective regulation against the possibility of the abuse of ownership, against neglecting the social point of view in the economy. An economic policy without social justice threatens social accord and brings economic losses to citizens. Social policy disregarding economic performance, on the other hand, damages the very foundations of the economy.

Social and economic policies limit and complement each other. This is a neuralgic point in our economy today. We must overcome it. We need to halt the fall in output and production at work and the loss of effectiveness, and create new working opportunties, reduce unemployment, stabilize prices and wage equality. For this goal we require not only good economic laws, at least tax laws, stimulating long-term development, but also a good system of ethical values and moral principles which need to be anchored in our economic life and the relations between employers and employees and producers and consumers.

It is true that we are taking our first steps in a difficult economic situation which is reflected unfavorably in the social position of many citizens. Let us, however, not make a mistake. Our problems do not come from having our own state. On the contrary their root is in the fact that previously, we did not have a state and also that we lived in totalitarianism, that we could not influence the structure of our industry, that we were not in charge of our finances, that we were unable to enjoy the fruit of our labor, and that foreign ideology was deliberately destroying our national awareness and human confidence for decades. The most difficult period of our history is behind us. We have never had such prospects as now. We are trying to make sure that the energy that was released in people after the fall of totalitarianism is not exhausted in shallow arguments, but that our whole will, heart, and intelligence is put into the service of the national and state interest which is for the good, benefit, and prosperity of our citizens.

It is true that our economy is diseased and distorted, but nevertheless, after the Czech Republic, we have the second best starting position of all the postcommunist countries in Europe. Apart from that we have qualified specialists, capable hard-working people. We are capable of enterprise on the European and world market. We need to quickly decide the problems of the secondary insolvency of viable economic subjects and create a mechanism that would prevent its return. We need to quickly bring into practice measures to revive the economy and private enterprise, and measures to ensure a desirable ratio between exports and imports. We cannot forget that without every possible support for the development of education, without a moral revival, and without the creation of conditions for a healthy way of life, we will not achieve the necessary qualitative change in the lives of our citizens. We have deliberatly decided in favor of inviolate private ownership and a market economy because without these, democracy and the freedom of the individual is not possible; the prosperity of citizens, municipalities, and the state is not possible. Therefore we clearly say yes to freedom of enterprise, liberalization of trade, and foreign capital; no to a centralized economy and egalitarianism. At the same time with all responsibility I state that the doors are open here for foreign capital and it has the necessary guarantees. Any fears of the Slovak Republic's unsure political, economic, and security orientation are unfounded.

If on our side there is—as seen by foreign investors—a sort of lack of flexibility or if our concepts are insufficient—it is caused by our lack of experience and not by our indecision about which way to go. The Slovak economy will unambigouosly follow the democratic path of market economy which was well-tried in the free Western world. In this connection I see it as particularly topical that concentrated attention was paid to the support of business activities which are the basis of a well functioning economy.

As the highest constitutional representative of the Slovak Republic, my aim will be to make foreign investors come to our country with confidence. It is the patriotic duty of us all to convince the world that Slovakia is a democratic country with a stable political regime and an open market economy.

I see as particularly important that the position of national minorities in our country did not create doubt about the capability of the Slovak Republic to become a part of European integration structures. It will continue to be our aim that our policy towards national minorities should stand up to the strictest European criteria. We want to see that every member of national minority contributed with his individuality to the enhancement of his municipality, his town, and of the Slovak Republic as his homeland.

I do not doubt that the world will receive with understanding our expectation that the members of minority nationalities, also in the interest of fuller self-realization, made use of the conditions created for them by the Slovak Republic for mastering the state languge as an inevitable integration factor. There is only one Slovak Republic, it is indivisible, and it is the state of all citizens.

I am assuring our fellow citizens, members of national minorities, and of ethnical groups that I will not be indifferent to the attempts to limit their rights and that I would always be ready to listen to their justified demands. I would also see to it that the rights of the Slovaks in those parts of our territory where they are a minority were secured.

Our state was not created as a historical clean slate. Its international orientation and foreign political priorities are based on the fact that we are in the strategically sensitive area of Central Europe, which was a crossroad for civilization roads, for cultural and civilization streams and unfortunately also for the hostile armies of big states. All this affected our sensitivity to foreign stimuli.

I would like to stress that we consider ourselves an organic part of Euroatlantic space stretching up to the Urals. Spiritually, culturally, and politically we belong to West Europe as of the onset of our history. But that does not mean that we are giving up our membership in the family of Slavonic people with whom we are joined by many cultural and emotional relations. Strategically the most important neighbor of Slovakia is the Czech Republic. Coexistence with the Czech people in the joint state cannot be erased from history. The birth of the Czech-Slovak Republic in 1918 made it possible to set out new prospects of the cultural, social, and educational development of the Slovaks with efficient help of the Czech people. We will never forget this.

With Slovakia becoming independent, a new era in Czechoslovak relations started. The Slovak Republic has no interests that would be in contradiction with the Czech interests. We will do everything on our part so that we live as good neighbors as well as sincere friends. Slovakia for the Czechs is an open path and it is our wish that this might be mutually valid.

We attach equal significance to our relations with Hungary with which we are connected by a part of our joint history within the framework of Hungary. Reason is telling us not to irritate old wounds. Let us leave the assessment to the historians as they see fit. Political representatives of both countries have great responsibility to lead their people towards mutual respect and cooperation. It is an imperative of our common fate.

The Slovaks have helped shape Hungarian history and have thus shared in the modelling of Europe's face. We do not need to seek our place today anymore, only our task or mission. This for us ought to include Danube, as our natural state border with the Republic of Hungary, becoming a dependable artery joining both states to the organism of Europe.

I am pleased to be able to talk about the good relations we have with Austria. We will never forget that in the autumn of 1989 Austria became the open gate to the world for us, and has remained so until the present day. The Austrians are now our well-behaved partners and good neighbors with whom we would be very willing to widen our cooperation.

Our northern neighbor, the Republic of Poland, is close to us on account of its strong Christian traditions. We are also close to the Poles because they rank among the sorely-tried nations of Europe. In this they are similar to the Slovaks. The Tatra mountain chain does not divide but joins us. [passage omitted]

The biggest neighbor of Slovakia is Ukraine. It is of interest to us owing to its economic potential. We have no territorial or other disputes with Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Via Ukraine we receive oil, gas, and other raw materials from the Russian Federation. We also wish for good relations with Belarus and Russia, and with Germany, which has enormous economic potential at its disposal. We would be glad if interest in Slovakia on the part of France and other European states became stronger.

On the occasion such as today, I cannot resist mentioning that we are very keen indeed for Slovakia to be able to lean on the tradition of special relations with the United States of America. The tradition was born when times were hard for the Slovaks one-third of Slovak population found their new homes in the United States. The United States has become the cradle of our exiled resistance. Over many years we have been drawing on the ideals of U.S. democracy, the faith and strength needed to resist humiliation and suppression, and to live to see freedom.

I would also like to say that I belong among the supporters of the idea of even closer ties between the Visegrad grouping member states. Such a form of regional, institutionalized cooperation in Central Europe is to my mind a stabilizing element for the Central European space, and at the same time a factor strengthening the process of integration of the Slovak Republic into European political, economic, and security structures, which have been well- tried in the past.

Esteemed guests, dear friends, citizens of the Slovak Republic! As the president of the Slovak Republic I take it as my duty to thank the states which recognized our sovereignty without hesitation. It is a big boost of confidence for us, but also a challenge to which we have to rise with honor in our own and others' eyes, namely to become a dependable member of the community of the world's nations and states.

I would like to especially thank the presidents and other esteemed guests from abroad who are present here. I want to assure you that we will do our utmost for Slovakia to become an integral part of the free and united Europe.

Esteemed, dear citizens of the Slovak Republic, I hope for Slovakia to become a safe and good homeland for us all, and for us to be proud citizens of the Slovak Republic. Now that the constitutional conditions of our statehood have culminated in the election of the president, we will begin to work together to serve the common good and all our citizens with all our might, and to overcome our present difficulties as soon a possible. To do this we need to profoundly believe in ourselves and God. We need diligence, patience, prudence, and humility. We badly need greater cohesion and solidarity between our citizens. We need to have understanding for each other. Let us wish not just good health to each other, but also success. Without successful individuals there can be no successful villages and towns, society, or state. Let us wish political accord for ourselves and our fellow citizens. It will enable us to reach national accord and the unity of all citizens of the Slovak Republic sooner. We all have the calling to change our Slovakia into an economically prosperous and spiritually rich country where calm, peace-loving, and happy people live. God help us to do so. [applause]

Holds News Conference

LD0203201293 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1445 GMT 2 Mar 93

[News conference by Slovak President Michal Kovac in Bratislava, moderated by an unidentified moderator, with foreign and domestic reporters—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Slovak TV correspondent] Slovak Television. Mr. President, allow me to ask you a [word indistinct] question. It is well known that Prime Minister Meciar was supposed to hand over a proposal for the dismissal of Milan Knazko, deputy government chairman and foreign minister. I am interested in what your decision will be on this, especially in connection with the fact that you visited the foreign minister and that you in essence expressed satisfaction with his work and with him, Minister Milan Knazko, personally. Thank you.

[Kovac] This question suprises me because a decision like that is not made at such a forum with such people present. We have a very strange view of what decisions the president can make. I do not know what the decision will be because I haven't received a proposal. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, today you have a meeting with President Havel and President Goncz. Will you speak with President Havel about the so-called hot line, which would replace formal meetings to resolve Czech-Slovak relations. Will you speak with President Goncz about the problems of Gabcikovo and the Hungarian minority?

[Kovac] Yes, we will have a meeting, but this is a dinner invitation. These will not be official discussions. I do not rule out that these questions may be raised during the dinner. But otherwise no discussions—with either Mr. Havel or Mr. Goncz—are on the agenda, just a meeting for dinner and before that a congratulatory meeting.

[Moderator] Thank you, it is your turn now MAGYAR HIRLAP. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR HIRLAP correspondent] Regarding the conciliation of all citizens, among whom should this conciliation take place?

[Kovac] We do not hide the fact that the aim of a number of political parties was not the formation of the Slovak Republic as an independent state We do not hide the fact that we have inherited a society, which is still rather fragmented, as we have not left our past far behind us yet. It has left certain traces as far as an unwanted differentiation between citizens is concerned. Moreover, we are a young and unexperienced democracy and some people perceive political pluralism, which is very useful, as a fight for survival between individual parties and groups.

As a consequence of these phenomena, there is talk about the need to unite our citizens and unite our nation. My view is that this role is more or less logical and natural for the president. As far I remember, all presidential candidates have accepted this role. I have also taken up this duty and I firmly believe that in cooperation with representatives of other political parties, journalists, and all Slovak patriots, we will succeed in this effort.

[Moderator] A question from the VOA, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, the only sentence you omitted from the text of your speech was the one about devaluation. I would like to know the reason for this. Does this mean that Slovak koruna will be devalued after all or that the government recommended that you not mention this issue?

[Kovac] The final version of my speech was what you heard. As for my draft, I consulted with neither the government nor anybody else; I consulted only my advisers. I did not include that sentence in the final version of my speech. [Cernena] My name is Cernena for the (?Slovak) news agency. [words indistinct] as far as your foreign activity is concerned, what will be the sequence of your visits to the countries you have listed in your inauguration speech? This is the first question. My second question is: When do you plan or expect to go to Germany, the United States, and Canada?

[Kovac] We have not agreed on the sequence of the visits yet. I have my own idea, while the minister of foreign affairs has passed me the ministry's idea. These two ideas are not very far apart. But my telling you about the sequence of my individual trips abroad now is premature. My likely starting point will be the point I made in my inauguration speech with regard to our relations with neighboring states. As far as visitors whom I have already invited are concerned, I have invited Mr. Weizsaecker and yesterday I personally was invited by President Kravchuk to visit Ukraine. This does not mean, of course, that this is the sequence in which the visits will be carried out. Moreover, today President Havel reiterated his invitation for me to visit the Czech Republic. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] I wish to ask a Palestinian daily to ask its question. If you please.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, since you are well known as an economist, what is your view of the future of the Slovak economy? Thank you.

[Kovac] As you may have noticed in my speech, I tried to provide a realistic assessment of our starting position as far as the economic situation is concerned. I was able to say that of all the postcommunist countries, the Slovak Republic is in second place, behind the Czech Republic, in terms of the advancement of the basic economic situation. This entitles me to be an optimist, to be able to expect that we will be able to sustain this standard. Because the Czech Republic has incorporated development into its policy and because we have strong links with the Czech Republic, this development in the Czech Republic will undoubtedly be positively manifested in the economic development of the Slovak Republic as well.

[Moderator] Thank you. I want to ask HOSPODARSKE NOVINY to ask their question.

[Unidentified correspondent] In your inaugural speech you recalled, among other things, the institutionalized setup of the Visegrad Four. Can you be more specific and tell us what you meant by that, since we know that Czech Prime Minister Klaus harbors a virtual aversion to some formal structures within that group?

[Kovac] What I meant was this group could have its specific base and specific bodies that would organize its negotiations. These negotiations should be planned; they should not be improvised and they should not be held on an ad hoc basis. This is what I meant when I mentioned institutionalization. [passage omitted]

[Slavik] Slavik for REUTER. I would like to ask you about the expression—socially oriented market economy. What does this mean in practice, and will Slovakia try to attract foreign capital?

[Kovac] Socially oriented market economies exist in Austria, Germany, Italy, and a whole number of other countries. We are not thinking of anything different from those.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, you have repeated what you said in your speech that Slovakia has the second-best departure point for the future, you think. What grounds do you have for saying this, and do you think that it has the second-best departure point in terms of prospects? Thank you.

[Kovac] This is a matter of evaluating indices like the GDP, the work production level, receipts from abroad per capita, electricity production, consumption levels per capita, and so on. These and other indices have been compared, not only by me but by our economists, with similar indices in other postcommunist countries. It comes out unambiguously that we are in second place. This means that we differ by only a few percent from the Czech Republic's overall indices, and all other states are behind us in these indices. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Hungarian Television. Mr. Kovac, could you tell us a few words about the ethnic minorities that live in Slovakia and about Slovakia's policy toward them?

[Kovac] [passage omitted] As far as our policy is concerned, according to our deepest conviction it corresponds to European standards. The principles of guaranteeing constitutional rights are outlined in our Constitution. However, we know that apart from the Hungarian minority, no other minority has yet complained about any shortcomings, be it constitutional position or practical policy.

The Hungarian minority has been voicing certain demands. These demands concern cultural autonomy and autonomy in education. Otherwise, our policy is quite known. The Constitution guarantees all the rights enshrined in the Copenhagen document and other international documents. Certain problems can arise in the practical application of these rights. But I know the situation from first-hand experience, not just interpreted by politicians, but from contact with citizens at the various rallies I attended. The reality is better than it is being presented by certain political representatives of various ethnic minorities.

[Unidentified correspondent] Slovak radio's Hungarian section. Mr. President, allow me to quote some thoughts from your speech: I assure our fellow citizens, members of national minorities and ethnic groups, that we will not be indifferent toward attempts to stigmatize national minorities or limit their rights.

Mr. President, can we understand from this that the office of the president of the Slovak Republic will have a council for nationalities or at least an adviser for national minority questions?

[Kovac] Yes. We will certainly have at least an adviser and even a council. I would be glad if, first and foremost, specialists representing certain national minorities and of course political workers as well were on this council. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] BBC. Mr. President, I understand that you ended your membership in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] after your election as president. Does this mean that in the future, when you are no longer president, you will return to the HZDS, or have you resigned forever?

[Kovac] No, I have not resigned forever. I officially requested that my membership be discontinued while I am fulfilling the functions of the president of the republic. The answer is yes, my membership is discontinued for that period. So if I were to finish, and when I do finish and I am still alive and healthy, then I intend to return to politics and I intend to renew my membership in the HZDS.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, in your addresses and in your inauguration address today you talked about a broad spectrum of problems to which you want to give attention or which you want to help solve. Can I understand it that you want to be a strong president? What I have in mind is that according to the Constitution the president should solve mainly problems of foreign policy, defense, and some crisis situations.

[Kovac] I am not worried about whether that will be called strong or something else because the constitutional delimitation of the activities of the president is given. I will strive fully to develop and fulfill this with actions and politics. Furthermore, there are things that have not been written in any constitution and there are matters that do not involve exceeding constitutional powers but which provide broad possibilities for the activities of the head of state. As the first citizen of the state I would like to strive for these broad possibilities to be used to their fullest.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, your future head for foreign affairs, Jan Klepac, said that the arming of Hungary which is allegedly taking place at the moment means danger for the central European area. Foreign Minister Knazko expressed his view that this is an internal question, an internal affair of Hungary. I would like to ask what your attitude on this is and I would also like to ask if you are going to talk about this with President Goncz. [passage omitted]

[Kovac] My information—naturally, from the previous period—is to the effect that Hungary has an agreement with Russia about using a part of Hungarian claims so that Russia will carry out certain deliveries for modernizing existing military equipment. During talks with representatives of a Hungarian political party, we were assured that what is involved is not an increase in output and military force, but truly only maintenance at an agreed upon level. Other information that would lead to apprehensions about increasing firepower or some other kind of military force does not exist—at least, I have not received it so far. So at the moment I can say that I do not share any fears that Hungary is preparing its army for some other purposes than those stemming from their defense doctrine.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, what do you think about the view that has emerged within the context of your election that you will try to turn the presidential office into a second center of power?

[Kovac] What is my view on this? I do not intend to turn the presidential office into a second center of power. I consider various constitutional bodies—president, government, and parliament, all these entities together—to be one center of power which fulfills various functions: legislative power, executive power, presidential functions.

According to the custom in pluralistic systems, government posts are filled by those parties which gained the most votes in elections; they have an opportunity to form various coalitions. This is why I consider the question about creating a second center of power to be inappropriate. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Over there in the back, the Swiss EXPRESS, if you please.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, in your inauguration speech you said that you supported the Visegrad initiative. The presence at your inauguration of four presidents of states neighboring the Slovak Republic appears to confirm your views. Is there any chance to expect that the Slovak side will make more of an effort at integration between these four states in Central Europe? If this is the case, what is your vision of cooperation between these four states in the Central European region, i.e. between Poland, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, and the Republic of Hungary? Thank you.

[Kovac] This is one thing I can confirm. Yes, we would like this to happen. The president would like it to happen. As far as I know, the government would also like it to happen. But we must realistically consider our possibilities and the degree to which we are equipped to develop greater initiative in this respect. If I establish that this is the case, that we either have capable people who can function in this respect or that our stock of ideas is full, we would attempt to translate these possibilities into our own initiative. But at this moment, I personally do not know precisely what the situation is; apart from expressing this political will, it is impossible for me to speak about some other specific initiatives today.

[Moderator] Thank you. Over to Austrialian Radio and Television.

[Unidentified correspondent] Would you be so kind to tell us how you personally and your presidential office plan to cooperate with the media—the press and radio and television? Here is a quick second question. You have already answered two questions on minorities, the minorities that live here. Could you say something specific about what your office plans to do for the majority of this country?

[Kovac] Regarding cooperation with the media, in the race before the election, I already expressed my will and my determination to introduce some kind of a new tradition of communication between the president, his office, and foreign and domestic journalists. [passage omitted]

Regarding our plans for the majority, I spoke about this topic in my inauguration speech today. Everything that we intend to do for citizens in the economic, social, cultural, and educational spheres and in all other walks in our life concerns both the majority and the minorities. Thus our entire effort is focused on the citizen, regardless of his political or national affiliation and regardless of other aspects. I intend to cooperate very efficiently with the government and the parliament, but first and foremost with individual political parties, because that is where the focus really is. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, toward the end of your inauguration speech you emphasized that the election of the president of the Republic was the culmination of constitutional procedure. We know full well that there are big gaps in the legislative. In your view, which laws should be looked at, changed, or amended as top priority? Thank you.

[Kovac] I will not list all the laws. To name but one, we know, for instance, that the law on national insurance must be amended. I would be better advised to list the laws which must be written anew because they are stipulated by the Constitution. There are a number of them. Let's take the significant law on national minorities. We already have certain drafts, but of course quite a few of them are needed. As for this law, I have already promised a certain amount of pressure in asking for consultations to be held at my level, namely at the level of the office of the president of the Republic. [passage omitted]

[Gaspar of SLOVENSKY NAROD] How do you see the role of the president in strengthening the awareness of history and Slovak statehood?

[Kovac] How would we like to raise civic and national awareness? This is very important, in my opinion, above all the civic awareness. I think that many citizens are rather apathetic, indifferent, and skeptical at the moment. It is as if they are worn down by the daily chores and cannot see clearly that these are temporary problems and that not only Slovakia, but all postcommunist countries have found themselves in an historic situation which is most significant and has great prospects.

It is not just up to the president. Here I would like to appeal to our journalists, the media, and our intelligentsia to correctly show the real situation we are in, the scale of the problems, but also the future prospects and the direction we are taking. [passage omitted]

[Beliansky] Jan Beliansky, USA. Mr. President, U.S. Slovaks place great hope in you, the government of Prime Minister Meciar, and the chairman of the Slovak parliament, Dr. Gasparovic. Are their hopes justified? That is one question. The second: What will Slovakia do to improve the very bad situation for Slovaks in the Sudetanland and the Ostrova region?

[Kovac] As to whether the great hopes Slovaks abroad place in the president, the prime minister of the government, and the chairman of the National Council are justified, I think yes. But in everything it is necessary to be realists at the same time. It is, of course, necessary to have hope, to have strong, firm, and great hope. But as time goes by we recognize the difficulty of resolving individual problems, and here we are afraid that we are not explaining our actions correctly to people, that we are not resolving the problems as people would imagine that it would be, and this leads to genuine disappointment. So I reply that the hopes are justified.

Regarding what we want to do with Slovaks in the Czech Republic, especially in the Sudetanland and Ostrava, I think that it is necessary in such matters for our Foreign Ministry, in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education, to prepare a concept which previously did not exist, which was not necessary because we lived in one common state. But now a new situation has arisen here, and above all we believe that the Czech Republic—which is a democratic republic founded on tolerance for nationalities and which recognizes all rights—that the Czech Republic itself will put forward certain ideas and will draw up its policies. We can then link it up with our ideas and then, at a diplomatic, interstate level, we can realize certain agreements and maybe adopt some agreements from which would flow cooperation and collaboration between our cultural and other civic associations toward Slovaks living in the Czech Republic. [passage omitted]

Meciar Urges 'Secured' Transit for Refugees

AU0203184893 Prague CTK in English 1348 GMT 27 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava, Feb 27 (CTK)—Transit of illegal immigrants from Germany to their home countries is possible only if the immigrants are secured for the entire journey, said Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar on Slovak Radio last night.

We will not stand in the way if people are going to return home, but we want to be certain that they will go back to the country from which they came, he said.

In his televised speech yesterday, Meciar said that Slovakia did not agree to the treaty on joint border control between the Czech and Slovak Republics because it had expected complete free movement. The Czech side, however, had a different concept of the agreement and today transit to the Czech Republic is worse than to any other country, he said.

Police Discover More Illegal Weapons in Bratislava

AU0103200393 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Feb 93 p 1

[Report by "pa": "Another 440 Submachine Guns"]

[Text] Bratislava—J. Pilat, spokesman for the Police Corps of the Slovak Republic, stated in the first edition of the Slovak Television "Actuality" program yesterday that another cache of submachine guns was discovered. Criminal police located the weapons in the basement of a Bratislava house. There were 440 58-type submachine guns along with approximately 400 magazines. The submachine guns came from the same sources as those recently discovered in Nitra, which means they came from the Czechoslovak Civil Defense Union (formerly, the Union for Cooperation With the Army).

Foreign Teams Arrive To Inspect Arms Reduction

LD0203220693 Prague CTK in English 2123 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava, March 2 (CTK)—Teams from Hungary and Germany arrived in Slovakia today to inspect the country's destruction and storage of surplus conventional weapons and equipment, spokesman for the Slovak Ministry of Defense Anton Fillo said today.

The 10-member Hungarian team will spend two days inspecting military equipment stored at a training site in Lest, central Slovakia, while the Germans will check the destruction of Slovak artillery in Moldava Nad Bodvou, east Slovakia, Fillo said. He added that on Wednesday a team of experts from France would arrive to inspect Slovak Army units, accompanied by members of the Slovak Office for Arms Reduction Control.

Since November 1992, two similar inspections have taken place in Slovakia according to the Vienna Convention of July 1992, whose terms have not been made public. Slovak experts have so far made 11 inspection trips to other countries.

Editorial Views Risks of U.S. Yugoslavia Policy

AU0203182393 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Feb 93 p 3

[Editorial by Endre Aczel: "Humanitarianism and Embargo"]

[Text] I am quite certain that, in spite of the suggestions, the opening of the Hungarian airspace to U.S. aircraft delivering aid to Bosnia will not be seen by Yugoslavia as an unfriendly step and especially not as an antagonistic step.

There is no reason for Belgrade to doubt the humanitarian considerations of the Hungarian Government or to categorize the unarmed transport equipment—that will not have any escort—as "enemy vehicles."

In Belgrade's place, I would even give up the ill feelings that accompanied the patrol by the AWACS [airborne warning and control system] (reconnaissance) planes over Hungary—and the permission for it—because, after all, the supervision of the Bosnian air blockade was decided by the United Nations. In addition to this, the airplanes carrying the aid will only feel secure over Bosnia if there is no "antagonistic" aerial activity there, and there will not be any in the future, either.

In this sense, the airlift cannot function without the AWACS planes. Anyone who supports or at least accepts the former also has to acknowledge the latter.

However, regardless of all this, the matter is not completely without risks—not even for Hungary.

One has to toy with the—unpleasant—idea that what will happen if the enclaves of the Bosnian Serbs find the proportion of aid given to them too little (compared, for example, to the amount given to the Muslims), declare discrimination and, let us say, they even wish to take revenge on the airplanes that fly too low?

This is when people usually say: God save us from it! From that moment, the Americans (and those who cooperate with them) would be busy considering a counterstrike for which they would again need "permits to pass."

I certainly do not want to talk of the devil, but knowing how easily the Serbs become suspicious (and how determined they are), I wish to indicate a possibility that is part of the deal.

I would like to emphasize, though, that the amount of aid the various groups receive is completely independent of the Hungarian policy of granting permission; therefore, in this sense, Hungary cannot be held responsible.

It is the possible aggravation of sanctions against Yugoslavia where Hungary's view can be decisive, and this is a completely different matter. In this case, we can only welcome the Hungarian concerns and the refusal—both in principle and in a practical sense; in principle, because the sanctions against Yugoslavia only add further data to the unpopular conviction that embargo policies hardly ever achieve their goal. In other words, if the current level of sanctions has been unable to make Belgrade surrender, then increased sanctions will not be productive, either. (As a matter of fact, excessive punishments are usually supported by those whose economic or other interests are not affected by the embargo....) This is the theoretical side of the matter, while the practical side is that, with a possible closure of borders and through cutting the communications lines, the Hungarian Government would isolate many hundreds of thousands of Hungarians in the Vojvodina, and in an extreme case, it would even be obliged to shoot at them (and at everyone else), should they want to escape toward us. This is something we really cannot afford to do.

New Ministers' Views on Current Policies

LD0103195893 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 1 Mar 93

[Text] [Announcer] President Arpad Goncz has handed over letters of appointment to Ivan Szabo, minister of finance; Janos Latorcai, minister of industry and trade; and (Tibor Pongracz), titular state secretary responsible for privatisation. Krisztina Antalffy interviewed Finance Minister Ivan Szabo.

[begin Szabo recording] This week I would like to draw up the principles of passing not ready-made materials in their final form to the cabinet because I would like to see a conceptual scheme of materials, that is, the contents, the internal collation of their substance, so that in the end we can see whether things happened the way we planned or changed direction in mid-stream. It can either be the issue of employment policy, an amendment to a law on taxation, or a bill or a motion presented by the government in connection with international economic relations, or an international agreement. [end recording]

[Announcer] Now Janos Latorcai, minister of industry and trade.

[begin recording] [Antalffy] You recently said that as long as you are at the head of the portfolio, you will not undertake a political role.

[Latorcai] There is a given idea of economic policy. I think it is beyond any doubt that I could not have undertaken this post if I had not been able to accept the values as well as the concept which is being fulfilled by the present government. For this reason, the realization of economic policy mainly demands the assertion of professional aspects. [end recording]

[Announcer] Now Tibor Pongracz, titular state secretary.

[begin Pongracz recording] The whole of this privatization violates crucial interests as well as representing them. It is necessary to reach a kind of consensus in these issues, so that a large circle of people can form the opinion that the transition of state property to private ownership will take place in an equitable manner. It is another problem what the proportion should be in relation to foreign ownership and Hungarian ownership. If we are moving toward Europe, one cannot close off the borders to foreign capital by means of populist slogans. Regarding the modernization of the Hungarian economy, foreign capital is of crucial importance. [end recording]

Free Trade Agreement Concluded With Hungary

AU2702201493 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Feb 93 p 9

[Report by APA: "Cooperation With Hungary"]

[Text] Vienna—Economics Minister Wolfgang Schuessel said that the bilateral negotiations between Austria and Hungary within the framework of the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] free trade agreement have been concluded. In the talks, which were also attended by Agriculture Minister Franz Fischler and Hungary's Foreign Trade Minister Bela Kadar, all issues in the fields of agriculture and industry were "politically agreed on."

The further intensification of economic relations between Austria and Hungary was also the focal point of talks that the economics minister held with Hungarian Finance Minister Ivan Szabo in Vienna. The contacts have gained dynamism over the past few years: Over the first 11 months of 1992, domestic exports rose by 8 percent to 14.2 billion schillings; imports from Hungary increased by 6 percent to 11 billion schillings. With a market share of 28 percent, Hungary is Austria's most important trading partner in Eastern Europe. Conversely, Austria is Hungary's second most important trading partner after Germany.

The biggest growth rates in Hungarian imports were reached with machinery and transportation means (29 percent); imports of finished goods have also clearly increased (plus 15 percent). In Austria's exports, foodstuffs, energy sources, and finished goods rose most strongly, namely by 20 percent each. However, deliveries of beverages, which were very high most recently, declined by 17 percent.

Hungarian Finance Minister on IMF

AU2802150493 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 27-28 Feb 93 p 25

["hau" APA report: "Hungary's Budget Deficit Is Skyrocketing"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—The recently reshuffled Hungarian Government has established that the central task for this year is going to be stabilizing the budget deficit. Without countermeasures, the budget deficit is threatening to explode in the next few years, the new [Hungarian] finance minister, Ivan Szabo, stated in Vienna. This year he expects a deficit of 175 billion forint, which is more than 22 billion schillings. If the development continues unabated, the deficit might rise to 300 billion-400 billion forint in 1994.

By combating "moonlighting," the finance minister is trying to activate new sources of income. However, Hungary will not be able to provide the necessary financial means all by itself. Therefore, Szabo wants the IMF regulations for granting further dollar loans to be loosened.

The IMF requests Hungary to limit its deficit to 3.6 percent of the gross national product (GNP). This is unrealistic for all former CEMA countries, Szabo criticizes. With its value of 5.8 percent of the GNP last year, Hungary was not able to fulfill this regulation. This year, the deficit will continue to grow to 6 percent of the GNP.

Unemployment, in particular, is a strain on the budget. Social insurance contributes 40 billion forint to the deficit. At the moment, 650,000 Hungarians are unemployed. By August-September, unemployment will probably affect 750,000-800,000 people. This would mean an unemployment rate of 15-16 percent.

Following 22 percent last year, inflation is to be lowered to 14-17 percent this year. Net foreign debts are currently amounting to $12-13 billion. Despite all budget problems, Szabo predicts a growth of the GNP by 3 percent for the first time since 1989.

Agreement Reached

Szabo wants Austria to open its border regions to Hungarians who are looking for work. Concerning the so far contentious issues of agriculture, the two countries reached agreement on Thursday [25 February]. Within the framework of the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] free trade agreements, Austria has permitted Hungarian agriculture to raise its exports by 30 percent, Economics Minister Wolfgang Schuessel announced.

In particular concerning wine, salami, poultry, and cheese, Austria's farmers had been stalling for time. The Hungarian products are far cheaper. Therefore, the permitted import quotas were always kept at the lowest possible level.

Schuessel expects that the free trade agreement between EFTA and Hungary will be ratified by the parliaments of all affected countries by the summer. [passage omitted]

Slovak Acceptance of Hague Arbitration Awaited

LD0203185793 Budapest MTI in English 1613 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—Hungary knows nothing about expert talks with Slovakia on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage being scheduled for this week, said Foreign Ministry Commissioner Gyorgy Tatar on Tuesday [2 March].

After the Czech Parliament decided last week that Slovakia inherits the Gabcikovo issue, Hungarian Foreign Affairs State Secretary Janos Martonyi sent a letter to Slovak counterpart Jan Lisuch asking for the sides to sign a statement accepting International Court of Justice jurisdiction on the debate.

Responding to Martonyi, Lisuch said Slovakia had so far had no Foreign Ministry memorandum from the Czech Republic on the decision. Upon receiving the memorandum, Slovakia will notify Hungary at once and the sides may then set a date for further talks, Lisuch said.

In hungary's view, the statement on accepting the court's jurisdiction has actually been completed, except for alterations to be made under the Czech parliament's resolution. Hungary sees no obstacle to the sides signing the document at the next meeting and submitting it to the Hague-based court.

First, however, the document will have to be ratified by the Hungarian and Slovak Parliaments, as mentioned in the text.

In Hungary's opinion, the two countries' prime ministers can start talks after these issues have been settled, Tatar said.

Parliament Approves Security Policy Principles

LD0203212593 Budapest MTI in English 1940 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—In its Tuesday [2 March] session, the Hungarian parliament approved a resolution on the country's security policy principles. The decision was made almost unanimously, with only one vote against.

Using a broad approach to security, the resolution declares that in the volatile, transitional state of eastern central Europe the problems of the region can only be handled by cooperation between all states concerned. It asserts that Hungary has no projected enemy and considers all who observe basic principles of international law as partners in strengthening security.

It follows from this broad approach that ties with European integration groups grow increasingly important for Hungary. The resolution declares that full membership of the European Community would guarantee Hungary's security. Other joint organisations, such as NATO, CSCE, and the West European Union, also have an important role to play. The resolution declares that Hungary seeks to gradually become a full member of these organisations.

Laying emphasis on the situation of minorities, the document says that intolerant nationalism endangers stability. It lays down as a basic principle that the problems of national and ethnic minorities should not be considered exclusive internal affairs of the states concerned, they should rather be handled as ones affecting the security of Europe as a whole. The document says that Budapest considers the enforcement of the rights of ethnic Hungarian minorities as a prerequisite for good-neighbourly relations. It also says that in settling minority problems Hungary rejects both any modification of existing borders by force and any artificial changes in the ethnic composition of populations.

Police Ordered To Remove Nazi Symbols on Sight

AU0303115093 Budapest MTI in English 1825 GMT 28 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, 28 Feb (MTI)—Hungarian Minister of the Interior Peter Boross visited the Hungarian-Israeli Friendship Society on Sunday [28 February]. Also present was the Israeli ambassador to Budapest, David Krausz.

The chairman of the friendship society, Laszlo Rapcsanyi, asked questions from the minister.

Boross said a continuous and close relation had come about between the Ministry of the Interior and the Israeli Ministry of Police since 1991, which has advantages for the Hungarian police authorities in many respects, for example, particularly in training against terrorism.

The minister said that, according to plans, the Israeli minister of police is expected to visit Budapest in April, returning his visit to Israel.

Ambassador Krausz added that, in his view, apart from professional contacts, personal and friendly relations are also very good between leaders of the two insitutions. He mentioned that Budapest's chief of police is returning from his visit to Israel today.

In answer to further questions, Minister Boross said he had ordered policemen to see to the removal of swastikas or other provocative symbols of a fascist nature whenever they come across such, be they on someone's coat, hat, or on a building. This will be continued until legal regulation is passed in the matter.

Questions from the audience were mainly raised about the fight against anti-Semitism, racism, and xenophobia.

Boross said they would prevent these harmful phenomena with a firm stand, by observing the demands of lawfulness. In this context he stressed: "As long as the current government is in office, and I am minister of the interior, I shall crush all such organisations in the bud."

At the end of the meeting, Ambassador Krausz said he had listened with great satisfaction to the replies given by the minister to the questions raised.

Walesa Answers Solidarity Delegates' Questions

WS0203133093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2200 GMT 26 Feb 93

[General meeting with President Lech Walesa and unidentified delegates of the Gdansk Shipyard NSZZ Solidarity in Gdansk on 26 February—recorded]

[Text] [Video shows Walesa getting out of his car, being greeted by a group of men, entering a big hall where the delegates have already gathered] [Walesa] I know that you are to some extent disillusioned with me. But I am also disillusioned with you to some extent, and we will be talking about it. I worked here once for a good many years. I met many friends here in the seventies and also later on. But I cannot see them; I cannot see their stand, their opinions. I cannot see many things that could help the president, the reforms, or that at least could help avoid making mistakes. Our country can afford better results. However, in certain places, in certain subjects we have made mistakes, and we will be talking about them. We have made mistakes due to a lack of knowledge and lack of preparation, as well as many other reasons. But we have to explain it, talk about it in order to achieve the best results possible.

[Delegate] Where is your program, Mr. President? You are the president of Poland. I would like to ask you this on behalf of Lower Silesia, and I believe, all people in this room.

[Walesa] Do you think that it is pleasant for me to listen to you saying that I have promised something and now I am not implementing it? I have not backed out of anything, and I am not going to do it. I declare that my simple ideas, the 100 million zlotys and others, were excellent. No one is going to refute them in a hundred years' time, because I have made an assumption as to social justice and an equal start. But I could not do it. I changed four governments and I could not force the implementation of my program. I had neither the instruments nor the possibility. Do you not remember how my idea of the 100 million zlotys was ridiculed, and what arguments were put forward? That Poland could not afford to give 100 million zlotys to everyone. And this was said by economists. And I said: well, gentlemen, a worker is telling you that Poland is worth as much as someone is prepared to pay for it. If each of us were to have 100 million zlotys, he would either try to spend it or to buy something, bidding up the prices in the process. It would be just, and it would bring results, and no one could call it unjust.

[Delegate] In order to implement your program and to maintain power in these difficult times you need appropriate political power. Therefore, I have a question. Whom are you supporting and when will you establish your own party?

[Walesa] My answer is the following. Please try to recall the times when almost everyone, including you, kept saying that the president should not belong to any political party because then he is biased and does not see whole problems, only fragments. Some time ago I helped in the establishment of a political party, and then I tried to take the suggestions into account and become apolitical. And when this happened I could hear people saying that I should be political again, have a political force. Now that I can see how we do not respect our structures, that we go out in the streets and take part in demonstrations, I am wondering if I will not have to return to the concept of the political president once again and if I will not have to implement my program in this way. However, if I should do this, I must know that I am allowed to do this, and that the people demand it. I cannot do it before that, because it would mean an attempt to take over power. It would mean a change of the concept, and this must be preceded by people's consent. I myself feel that now that there is so much inaction I will perhaps have to do it. I am strongly supporting the idea of the National Guard, in order to be able to say stop. Within two months' time I will restore order in any voivodship. But I must have the instruments. I cannot wait for someone to say yes or no. Half a year and there must be order. I will deploy all my forces and resources and I will catch everyone. Those who violate... [pauses] But then, they will probably not allow me to do it, because they are afraid that it is not democratic. And that is why we have such results. Everywhere I look I see small things, limitations. And it should not be like this. A decree means fast action. Of course, the parliament must not be neglected. But I could only send information there that I am going to do this and that, and if you have any doubts, just say so; say that you have doubts here and there, but do not block action for me, do not block effectiveness.

[Delegate] You dream of National Guard.

[Walesa] Yes, I dream of it.

[Delegate] Does it not mean a return to ZOMO? [Motorized Reserve of the Citizens Militia; special riot police troops disbanded October 1989]

[Walesa] Yes, it will be ZOMO-like. But ZOMO in a different sense. Effectiveness. I have had enough of your uncertainty and enough attacks. Here you cannot settle things saying: listen, come here because I want to check you. No. I must elaborate a strategic plan. We must block all [word indistinct] for half a year, and we have to clean the place. Enough playing, enough innocent victims. We have to do it. And I will not do it... [pauses] People will say: well, sir, I am a policeman. We will not do anything, not a thing. Can you not see any dangers? And therefore, it will mean a better, faster response. It will not last long. It will end when I ask you: Is there order yet? I do not want any power. I am a great democrat, but only where democracy is planned. Where it is interrupted, however, I am pro-regime. It must be done; the situation cannot continue as it is. And in order to be able to do it, I must have the forces and the resources. And I am telling you what I will do. I will deal with all those silly things, those attacks, those mafias. I have had enough. It has lasted too long. Now I am beginning to be effective. Well, I will be ambivalent about it. Now, I said at the National Defense Committee session that if this parliament did not give me a chance to implement things, I will call upon the nation to let me do it. I have had enough play; I will not foot bills; I have had enough ineffectiveness.

[Delegate] Why do scandals keep appearing in the Gdansk Voivodship as well as all over Poland? And why have none of them been settled in the press? You, Mr. President, once said that you would let Baksik and Gasiorowski go only with their socks on. And, well, today pensioners come and ask for some financial help to tide them over. And they say that this is what the president said, but they think that many people in Poland will go out into the streets with their socks on.

[Walesa] After my requests and protests, [Justice] Minister Dyka promised me that he would tell the people: Dear people, this is no president. He persecutes me like mad. He will say why this all lasts so long. And then you will either accept it or not, or there will be some encouragement. Now, as far as the case of Baksik and Gasiorowski is concerned, it is a great drama for me. I talked with [Israeli] President Herzog myself, and said more than once: Mr. President, this is a barometer of some kind. A criminal act has been committed in Poland, and you, as people who love Poland, must understand it. I hope that you will understand that these people will come here to be judged. I am not saying who is to blame because this is not up to me. But, as I have said, I have asked the president of Israel himself to handle it, and I indicated to him that this could affect our relations. Our behavior is nice, and I hope that we will be treated in the same way. I am still waiting. I will be personally... [pauses] I will also write a letter to the president. And I understand that it can be their law, or perhaps something else, but we are all skating on thin ice. I myself was slightly slapped in the face, which I did not expect. I do not know exactly why. Therefore, I will do everything possible to make sure that it ends in a different way.

[Delegate] Would you like for the next parliamentary election to be held according to the old election law?

[Walesa] Although there are so many parties in the parliament, everyone can get organized in various ways. They change deputies' clubs, and they go out into the streets and organize demonstrations, because they think that not everyone has started working. Now, if we let three parties have seats in the parliament, then all the others, to whom 20 or 30 percent of the people will give their votes and out of this maybe 5 percent will win the election, so that 5 or 10 percent will represent the voters in the parliament. The rest will be put aside. How long can such a parliament survive? People can quarrel as long as they do it in an organized way. But do not go out into the streets. Let them sweat behind... [pauses] Well, perhaps we should do it in a different way, such as closing the Sejm, not letting them out until they restore order. Or, just as in the situation when a new Pope cannot be elected, so the voters do not get anything to eat. Maybe this way. But do it here, not in the streets.

[Delegate] I have a question. If you, Mr. President, are saying that you cannot do it, tell us please, what must be done so that you can. And if there is a need to wipe out everything from the political scene, the people can be galvanized to action, and the 70 percent will support you, Mr. President, and wipe it all out. Thank you.

[Walesa] Thank you. A very good question. Ladies and gentlemen, it is not so. It is true that I could do many things and I can do them, but this is not what it was supposed to be like. Not like this. I was supposed to go with you. We were supposed to do the constructing together. I was supposed to be strong with your strength and wise with your wisdom. However, when I see that you are not establishing political parties, when I see that you are not defending the shipyard, then I say I cannot do anything. But why do I say this? To make you angry! To give you encouragement, to help you notice things! Because I cannot do the constructing myself, and that is why it is not so. I can even carry out a coup d'etat, and not bungle it just like some have done it before. But what will I solve by that? I cannot persuade you that I mean nothing without you; that I cannot do anything without you; that if you do not become involved and do not defend the shipyard, then my efforts will all be in vain; and if they do not assign a competent official as the head of this village, they should do it themselves. I mean that I cannot encourage you; I cannot cheer you on; I cannot prove it to you. Well, it does not follow that I could not do some very strong things. I can do them, but then, how does that relate to our ideals? How does it relate to our solutions? What kind of country will it be if there is one leader and he brings gold on a tray? I cannot do it. If we want to win Poland, we have a little time. The Germans are uniting, so there is disorder there. We will win only if there is not a leader, but a self-defense system, if you defend yourselves, if I can tell you that an electrician must defend an electrician, if I force solidarity onto you, but a different solidarity: not slogans of struggle. They were excellent, but they were needed to fight for possibilities. However, I cannot substitute for you, for political parties. I cannot substitute for honesty; I cannot substitute for the respect of your superiors. I cannot obtain it for you. I am sorry, director, but I am not referring to you. I am referring to what is happening in the country. What kind of information comes to me from small towns! People say: Man, nothing has happened! They are already disregarding us; they are not listening to us; they are firing us; they are trying to scare us. Man, do something! Well, I have only eight children. Too few! There must be a change in thinking. It must be our thinking.

I would like to wish you all the best until the next meeting. I will be looking forward to your next invitation.

[Unidentified Journalist] Mr. President, I do not believe you when you say that a meeting in the historic room of the shipyard is a coincidence. Is it the beginning of some larger political action on your part? What will your next political actions be?

[Walesa] I said that I would like to be more presidential this year. That is, make a public appearance once a month, say something wise, and nothing more. But recently some demonstrations and other things have been organized, so I must work a little harder now because I can see mistreatment here. I can see it is not what it was supposed to be like. That is why I am going to try to move it all from below. I have no other choice.

[Journalist] Thank you.

Christian-National Union Defends President

WS0303114093 Warsaw SIS in Polish 1919 GMT 28 Feb 93

["Press Conference of the Christian-National Union"—SIS headline]

[Text]

Election of President

Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski was reelected the president of the Christian-National Union [ZChN].

Problems of the Government Coalition

While discussing the coalition and the parties that form it, Wieslaw Chrzanowski opposed the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] entering the coalition as well as holding any talks with the party headed by Aleksander Kwasniewski.

Referring to the Polish Peasant Party's entry into the coalition, the ZChN president said that "the current atmosphere is not conducive to such an action." He added, however, that "the situation may change".

ZChN would be most satisfied if the coalition were open to parties of national, Christian, or peasant origin.

Problem of Decrees

At the session the delegates also discussed the problem of emigration and the issue of so-called decrees. ZChN's stand is that the reform of regional self-governments must not be regulated with decrees.

Resolution Concerning the Respect for the Office of the President of the Republic of Poland

The only resolution made so far at the third congress of ZChN concerned respect for the office of the president of Poland.

Here are excerpts from it: It is with particular concern that we notice acts that undermine the authority of the president of the Republic of Poland. Due to the fact that he can concentrate attention on the most vital problems of the country, the president guarantees the constitutional balance among the authorities. In addition, he is an authority that is able to maintain the nation's unity in moments of extraordinary tests. Therefore, publicly undermining the authority of the president of the Republic of Poland is detrimental to the most vital interests of the nation. It also weakens Poland's international prestige, especially if it is taken into consideration that Mr. President, Nobel Prize winner, is generally regarded as a symbol of the great surge of Solidarity.

The resolution was signed by Stefan Niesiolowski, chairman of the ZChN deputies' club.

The congress session is continuing. Currently, the board and regional councils of the party are being elected.

Interview With Vice Prime Minister Goryszewski

WS0303093093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 1 March 93

[Studio interview with Vice Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski by Jacek Skowronski; from the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Skowronski] Today Vice Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski is the Guest of Radio Zet. When will the government coalition make a decision regarding the decrees?

[Goryszewski] Within two weeks, I guess. The Sejm is convening this week, but the issue of special powers is not on the agenda. The meeting of the Council of Ministers is scheduled for 1 March, so it should not be expected that this issue will be completely settled in several hours.

[Skowronski] Are there any disagreements over administration by decrees and the scope of its effect in the legislature?

[Goryszewski] Allow me to limit my answer to the resolution adopted by the leadership of my party. It stated, in a congress document, the need to grant the government special powers to be executed according to law for a specified time. According to the leadership, however, there are two conditions that must first be met: The definition of the decision-making process, and the provision of reliable guarantees preserving the present political parity within the government coalition. It means that we must ensure that no party is dominated by this process. The government is comprised of six ZChN [Christian-National Union] members and about as many politicians from the Democratic Union and the Liberal Party. At the same time, it includes such mavericks as Mr. Eysmontt and Mr. Laczkowski. Theoretically, some of the decrees may contradict the position of those independent ministers or some other group of ministers. This might apply to the ZChN, the Democratic Union, or even someone else. We pay so much attention to this point so that no party will feel that its role in the government is downplayed. After all, the government represents a political alignment of people who have assumed the responsibility of working for a common objective. We are relying on their good will and their sense of what is good and bad for Poland. Such coherence would be quickly undermined if someone in the coalition were to become dominated.

[Skowronski] How should domination be avoided?

[Goryszewski] I believe that there is only one solution: To sit down and somehow determine the principles of political accord. One of my colleagues even suggested that the agreement be countersigned by all ministers. This would amount to liberum veto [17th-18th century Polish parliamentary practice allowing an individual Sejm deputy to veto legislation by a single vote] because the absence of a single signature could destroy everything.

[Skowronski] To whom should the decrees apply?

[Goryszewski] Well, this is quite a risky thing. The issue of decrees has been debated since the spring of 1990. I fear that our society can fall under the illusion that all of our everyday troubles, shortcomings of the economic reform, delayed political changes, etc. are caused by the lack of decrees, and that everything in Poland will be fine after the government gets the right to rule by decree. The process of Poland's recovery and transformation, however, will take a long time. The decrees should only apply to areas regulated by the Constitution, for example, the economy. However, they should be well balanced and selected in order to ensure their execution by the government. On the other hand, it is too risky to give the government excessive powers. It could turn out that the government may only need to use a portion of its powers. That would be a political defeat of the government and all its parties. Personally, I would rather have less powers but be sure that we will fulfill all our commitments ahead of time.

[Skowronski] What specific branches of the economy should the decrees regulate?

[Goryszewski] They could regulate the restructuring of enterprises and all accompanying problems, for example. There are also problems in duty and transportation regulations, which in my opinion, could be quickly solved on a legal basis.

[Skowronski] The most important question: Does the government coalition have enough influence in the Sejm to push through the legislation on administration by decrees?

[Goryszewski] I think it does. The Sejm is in a similar situation. Many opposition politicians realize that by adamantly opposing this legislation they are assuming responsibility for the inevitable troubles that Poland will yet experience. Therefore, I believe that their consent, after the legislation is scrutinized and probably amended by the Sejm, will ultimately be achieved.

[Skowronski] What is your position on the issue of the Euroregions?

[Goryszewski] On 28 February I had an opportunity to speak about it at length at the ZChN Congress. Euroregion is an ambiguous word. People mean different things when they use the term. If we speak about a Euroregion promoting the creation of autonomous units which could have legislative power and even the right to conduct their own foreign policy thus undermining the country's political integrity, my party and I are absolutely against it. On the other hand, we agree with the notion of a Euroregion as a certain way for cooperation to be carried out through border administrative units of our state and the neighboring countries. In such a way, Poland would retain the powers spelled out by our Constitution. I believe that the idea of Euroregions is a convenient way for some politicians to raise hopes for moving the European state boundaries as set by the Helsinki Treaty; however, not in the sense of actually redrawing borders, but to achieve certain results, motivated by historical sentiments.

[Skowronski] Do you not think that the Euroregion issue will deepen the conflict between the ZChN and the Democratic Union? Can this cause a crisis in the coalition?

[Goryszewski] Many issues can bring about a crisis in the coalition. This is a very difficult coalition to maintain because it consists of parties that are different in terms of their ideology and values. Maintaining the coalition calls for many sacrifices and constantly creates the question of whether this sacrifice represents a deviation from one's values. One of the ministers, who is not from the ZChN, said that our coalition had some inherent flexibility allowing it to bend without losing its coherence. There were so many dangerous conflicts and crises, but the government has survived them. In addition, I have no qualms about my party's loss of integrity in dealing with these conflicts.

[Skowronski] How would you assess the ZChN Congress?

[Goryszewski] It has only been about five hours since I left the proceedings. An important thing that happened there, noticeable not only to the ZChN, was the party's consolidation around its leader and founder, colleague Wieslaw Chrzanowski. This is how our members address each other. We have put all of our problems—so eagerly played up by the media—behind us. Two years of difficult work lie ahead.

[Skowronski] What major decisions were made at the congress?

[Goryszewski] New leadership has been elected, replacing the old one that finished its two-year term. We elected a new chairman of the congress, the supreme council, and the board. The congress approved reports that were submitted during the past two years, and passed a vote of acceptance of accounts for the outgoing leadership. The congress also approved the ZChN's Program Declaration. To avoid any doubts and misunderstanding, the party's identity and its political and ideological tasks are specified in the Ideological Principles. They include the fundamentals that determine the nature of the Christian-National Union, and remain unchanged through three congresses in a row. The Program Declaration set forth the tasks for the next two years.

[Skowronski] Was that a very successful congress?

[Goryszewski] No, it was not a very successful congress. Of course, various points of view were presented, often contradicting each other. The resolutions were adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes, although sometimes it was a narrow majority. However, there were no high emotions.

[Skowronski] The last question: Will a strike break out in Lodz this week?

[Goryszewski] It is hard to say, after the two days that I had spent at the congress, what feelings currently prevail in Lodz. This case is unpleasant and can be complicated by various matters. However, the demand to fire the governor, which appears to be underlying the conflict, cannot be the reason for the strike. I think that in spite of numerous declarations, the long delay in naming the Lodz governor, Mr. Bogdanowicz, as the representative of the government is a manifestation of the weakness of the present government coalition.

KOK Approves Plan for 'National Guard'

AU0303102793 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 27-28 Feb 93 p 2

[Report by Wojciech Staszewski: "The Guard Will Protect Us"]

[Text] "We are in mortal danger," said President Lech Walesa at yesterday's [26 February] meeting of the National Defense Committee [KOK], which approved the plan to set up a presidential National Guard. Jerzy Milewski, secretary of the Committee, warned that the Polish Army might soon become incapable of defending the country.

President Walesa presented the idea of a National Guard last summer. Such a unit would be under his command. It would be formed mainly out of the present Vistula Military Units of the Interior Ministry. It would be formed gradually, so that by the year 2000 it would number about 22,000 officers and men, twice the size of the Vistula Military Units.

In peacetime, the National Guard would protect diplomatic establishments, restore order during illegal demonstrations, and clear damage caused by natural disasters. It would also help keep the borders intact and participate in anti-Mafia operations. In wartime, the National Guard would grow to 40,000 men, and would be backed by the Police and Military Gendarmerie in combating saboteurs and subverters.

The Sejm National Defense Committee objected last week to the formation of a National Guard, arguing that the Sejm would not be able to control it.

"Representatives of all the ministries have agreed that the National Guard should be subordinate to the president," said Jerzy Milewski at the KOK meeting. "An interministerial team will decide in what way parliament could keep the National Guard under control," he added.

A draft law on the National Guard is to be placed before the Sejm within two months. In the meantime, the president is to prepare amendments to the law on the general duty to defend the country.

"The powers of the president as head of the Armed Forces must be clearly defined," said Milewski. Asked if he had in mind an increase in the president's powers, he replied: "It would increase the powers of the president, defense minister, and chief of the General Staff."

President Walesa attempted to convince the Committee that he was "not after more powers" and had no "ambition for power"

"We must simply be prepared, and that is all," he said. "We are in mortal danger. Unless we take stock of the situation, carry out better preparations, and achieve better organization, we may not be able to prove equal to life's challenges."

Afterwards, Milewski said that the president had "downplayed the decreasing stability in Russia" during the meeting. He also said that only 1 percent of the national income was being spent on the Army. "Unless more is spent, 3 or 4 percent, in a few years' time the Army may lose its ability to defend Poland," said the KOK secretary.

Onyszkiewicz Comments on Issue

AU0303103193 Warsaw PAP in English 1712 GMT 28 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—Critics of the decision to create a Polish National Guard attached to the presidency should be careful not to "over-interpret" the results of Friday's [26 February] session of the National Defense Committee (KOK), at which the proposal was approved, Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz said today.

In a reference to opposition criticism that the creation of the National Guard marked an important stage in the development of a presidential dictatorship, Onyszkiewicz said: "I appeal for a scrupulous analysis of the KOK communique—note what is in the document, and also what is not there." He declined to comment in more detail.

"The establishment of a National Guard will not create an exceptional situation in Poland," continued Onyszkiewicz, thus rejecting claims from Centre Accord leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski, who earlier this weekend described the plan as "a curiosity" not to be found elsewhere. "Similar units exist elsewhere, the most notable example being the United States."

There remains the question of how to "legislate" the whole proposal, and what the National Guard will look like, added Onyszkiewicz, "but I don't want to go into that now."

Cabinet Discusses State Enterprise Pact

AU0303103593 Warsaw PAP in English 2324 GMT 1 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, Mar. 1—Labour Minister Jacek Kuron presented at a session of the Polish cabinet today the results of the state enterprise pact, and the proposed timetable for its implementation, the Government Press Office has announced.

The state enterprise pact, signed by representatives of government, employers and the trade unions on February 22, is to regulate collective agreements during the period of ownership transformation in the state sector. In particular, the tri-partite pact creates a framework to resolve the questions of privatisation, and financial and social payments, during the changes in ownership structure.

The most urgent task would be to seek early ratification of the pact, and of related executive legislation, by the Sejm (lower house). Draft laws must now be prepared, incorporating amendments agreed with the signatories to the pact, and including inter-ministry agreements. At the latest, this ought to be completed by March 22.

The government also envisages the creation of several tri-partite commissions to monitor the implementation of the key areas identified in the pact. In the cabinets opinion, the most complicated part of the process will be the implementation of the privatisation laws, since the operation will involve some 6,500 state-owned enterprises.

The cabinet approved the creation of inter-ministerial working groups, and accepted the proposed time-table for the completion of preliminary work.

The cabinet also considered draft proposals to amend Polish unemployment laws, particularly in relation to benefits and retraining payments for the long-term unemployed in regions designated as specially threatened by structural unemployment. A decision on this matter will be taken at the next session of the cabinet.

The cabinet also approved the text of a motion to create the post of government plenipotentiary for the restructuring of the recession-hit central industrial region of Lodz. Under the proposals, the present governor of Lodz province will assume plenipotentiary powers granting ministerial authority, particularly in relation to ownership changes in the region's state-owned enterprises.

Assassination of Right-Wing Figures Considered

LD0203210593 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Excerpts] The creation in Warsaw this week of a Democracy Defense Committee has been announced by Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of the Center Alliance [PC]. [passage omitted]

Jan Parys [former defense minister], who accompanied Kaczynski today, stated that the activities of the right are being interrupted, an expression of which was the recent arrest of the director of the office of the PC parliamentary club. We know of provocations that are being prepared, including consideration of assasinations of certain political leaders, installation of bugging devices, and people being followed, said Parys.

Walesa Appoints New Broadcasting Council Chief

AU0303101993 Warsaw PAP in English 2154 GMT 1 Mar 93

[Text] Lodz, Warsaw, Mar. 1—President Lech Walesa today appointed Sejm (lower house) deputy Marek Markiewicz chairman of the newly-formed National Council for Radio and Television. His tenure formally begins when the new National Council assumes responsibility for Polish broadcasting.

The nine-person National Council, which replaces the former Committee for Radio and Television ("Radiokomitet"), has been created as a supervisory body under the new law on Polish radio and television, which came into effect today. Appointments to the Council have not yet been made.

According to presidential press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski, Markiewicz was the only nomination received by the president. The swift appointment, on the first day of the new broadcasting law, should be taken as an indication that President Walesa hoped for an early approval of the remaining posts on the Council, Drzycimski said.

Markiewicz, a Sejm deputy representing the "Solidarity" trade union, has wide experience of broadcasting. In an interview for PAP in the central Polish city of Lodz, he said that the basis of the reform of Polish television was the need to create a public TV structure completely independent of all political groupings. "It must be free of the oscillations which have been too frequent of late," he said.

Markiewicz said that his first task, on the first day of the new law on radio and TV, was to appeal to the Sejm and Senate for the remaining members of the National Council to be appointed as soon as possible. "I believe that the president would like the National Council to begin its duties from mid-March," he said.

Markiewicz also noted as an urgent task the need to tackle the problem of pirate radio and TV broadcasts in Poland, and to lay down guidelines relating to broadcasting license applications and wavelength allocations. "The National Council ought not to have a political function, but we really need to sort out these issues," he said.

Asked about likely candidates for the remaining places on the Council, Markiewicz noted that several names had been mentioned, including veteran broadcaster Andrzej Bober, Sejm deputies Ryszard Czarnecki (Christian-National Union ZChN) and Marek Siwiec (Democratic Left Alliance SLD), veteran film director Andrzej Wajda (currently chairman of President Walesa's Cultural Advisory Council), and Janusz Zaorski, head of Polish TV and president of the existing Radio and TV Committee.

"I look forward very much to working with Zaorski, although I would have done things differently than he has," Markiewicz said.

The Government Press Office announced today that, in connection with the dissolution of the Radio and TV committee, four of its members had been recalled from their posts as of March 1.

The outgoing committee welcomed its own demise. In a communique signed by Janusz Zaorski, the Committee noted "with satisfaction" that the dissolution marked the first stage of essential changes in the structure of Polish broadcasting.

The liquidation marks the first stage of the changes. Following the second stage, the liquidation of the state organizational units in Polish broadcasting, it will be possible to set up radio companies, and "Telewizja Polska SA." [Polish Television Inc.]

The communique also announced that Janusz Zaorski would remain as head of the state organizational units "up to the moment the new companies are established." His existing deputy, and the director general, will also remain at their posts temporarily, the communique noted.

Poland, Netherlands Sign Cooperation Deal

AU0303101393 Warsaw PAP in English 1909 GMT 1 Mar 93

[Text] The Hague, March 1—Polish Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz, currently on a six-day official visit to Holland and Belgium, and his Dutch counterpart Relus ter Beek signed a cooperation declaration in The Hague today. It includes dialogue on defence, participation in seminars and training courses organized by both sides, and "practical aspects of maintaining peace."

The Dutch minister told a press conference held after the signing ceremony that talks and meetings are not enough and that both countries had initiated several interesting and important cooperation projects. To prove this, he gave an example of a three-month staff training for officers from the Visegrad countries at the Ypenburg Defence Academy and the fact that common experience gained by the armies of both countries in Croatia and Cambodia is already being used. A Polish-Dutch joint committee for defence will a prepare cooperation plan every year.

Onyszkiewicz said that Poland values its military contacts with the Netherlands because of a "wider context." Before Poland joins the EC, it may first become member of the WEU and NATO. However, the Dutch defence minister declined to elaborate on this idea and preferred to speak of a more concrete cooperation now.

Also today, Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz met Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and Minister of Foreign Affairs Peter Kooijmans. "We talked of Poland's entering European structures, both the (European) Community and the Western European Union and, finally, NATO," the Polish minister said after the meeting.

Onyszkiewicz stressed that the most important matter for Poland now is to "confirm her prospects for joining the Western alliance", which according to him meets with approval in the west. The minister added that the order of entering the western economic and military structures is an open matter.

The minister, who started his visit to the Netherlands today, is due to leave for Belgium on March 3.

U.S. Intervention in Somalia Analyzed

AU0203184193 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27-28 Feb 93 p 7

[Dawid Warszawski article: "A Return to Trusteeship"]

[Text] There is a Polish science fiction story about a probe being sent to an unknown planet. Its appearance on the horizon of the alien world has an unexpected effect—the entire planet is shaken by a series of enormous nuclear explosions. Scientists wrack their brains over what the possible causes could could be until one comes up with the idea that the probe might have upset a special kind of balance— namely, the political balance ....

It would increasingly appear that the U.S. Marines in Somalia are, against their will, performing a similar role. If that is so, then the implications are unfortunate for the future of the mission in Somalia and—in more general terms—for the prospects for the principle of "humanitarian intervention" that is coming into being and of which Somalia was to provide the first example.

Originally, the Marines had, within the framework of Operation "Restore Hope," an exceptionally limited mandate: to bring about a cease-fire for the purpose of delivering food supplies to starving people. The American commanders gave assurances that they had no right or intention, for example, to collect weapons, let alone interfere in the future of that war-torn country. President Bush vowed that the mission would be over in a few weeks.

It soon transpired that those assumptions were as suited to Somali reality as the Marines' grotesque dawn landing at Mogadishu under the mass fire of television cameras. The Marines had to begin both to disarm and to interfere in the local power structures, if only by organizing the distribution of food. In a word, reality compelled them to assume the responsibility that stems from the fact that by being in possession of weapons, they had become, whether they liked it or not, the authorities.

The Americans did not want that. They desperately requested the dispatch of UN forces, who were to take over from them. However, the events of the past few days in Mogadishu show that the time when a painless reversal would have been possible has already passed. The departure of the Americans will disrupt the local political balance in the same way as their arrival did.

The ostensibly anti-American demonstrations in Mogadishu are the height of absurdity. It is hard to think of another instance of this kind of activity in the international arena. Washington has nothing to gain in Somalia, but it is losing substantial amounts of money and the lives of its citizens serving in the Army. The Somalis can gain two things, and without them everything else would be worthless: deliverance from death by starvation and basic security. It is indeed hard to imagine how it would be possible to protest against the American presence.

At any rate, there is no doubt how the decision makers in Washington, for whom the disturbances in Mogadishu were a complete surprise, reasoned. Yet, the mechanism that was behind the outbreak of the disturbances was in fact simple.

The port city of Kismayu, which lies in southern Somalia, is being fought over by two local warlords: General Morgan and Colonel Jess. The town has changed hands several times. When the Americans appeared, it was being held by the latter. The Americans imposed a cease-fire and deprived Morgan of the opportunity to launch a counterattack. What is more, by putting a stop to the clashes between the units of the two warlords at the beginning of the week, they grounded Morgan's plans, and he immediately accused them of bias.

What happened after that is not very clear, but the disturbances in Mogadishu caused the local warlord, General Aidida, to go on the air and accuse the Americans of having helped Morgan to occupy part of Kismayu. Whether that is what actually happened and whether that happened as a result of American efforts to remain impartial is not known. However, what Aidida stated brought the crowds out onto the streets.

The point is that Morgan is the son-in-law of the ousted dictator Siad Barre. Hatred of Barre is no doubt the last element uniting Somali society, which has been broken up into clans and bands that are fighting each other. The indignation felt by the inhabitants of Mogadishu was expressed by the words that appeared on one the banners carried during the demonstration: "Restore Hope"—for Siad Barre? It seems that completely unintentionally the Americans have brought about a situation in which their humanitarian mission is being identified with a hated regime—a regime that the administration in Washington did, incidentally, at one time support. The Marines, under siege in their barracks, can no longer maintain that they are not an element in Somalia's bloody political infighting. If they leave now, they will strengthen Aidida.

Some observers believe that he should be supported, that is, in accordance with the principle of the lesser evil. Others are of the opinion that on the contrary, all the warlords should be disavowed. The American command maintains that it will not engage in politics, but they are engaging in politics nevertheless, although unintentionally.

Somalia is a political training ground. Tomorrow, an intervention of a similar kind might be planned for Bosnia or Zaire, which is descending into chaos. However, the experience of Mogadishu clearly shows that "humanitarian intervention" itself is inadequate and that those who want to carry out such an intervention cannot escape the burden of political responsibility. They must prepare for that carefully and do so beforehand. It would appear that the one body possessing the legitimacy to undertake such preparations and execute their implementation, that is—to call things by their proper name—to takeover power in a country in which a humanitarian intervention is being carried out, is the UN Trusteeship Council.

However, a return to the concept of international mandates requires a substantial increase in the authority and power of the UN. Unfortunately, it is possible that the best time for instituting such changes—the first two years of American-Russian partnership—has already passed.

Poll Shows 48 Percent Support Sejm Elections

PM0303101193 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 23 Feb 93 p 4

[Report by "AO": "CBOS (Public Opinion Research Center) Findings: Should Sejm Be Dissolved?]

[Text] The proposal to dissolve parliament and call new elections has more supporters than opponents today. During the past year the public assessment of the Sejm's activity remained reasonably stable. By the end of 1992 and the beginning of 1993 public confidence in the the majority of power-wielding institutions suffered a noticeable decline. The Sejm moved from the bottom of the list of institutions subjected to public criticism. It is generally believed that the Sejm provokes conflict with the other power-wielding institutions instead of cooperating with them. Is this a measure of a growing crisis of confidence in this particular Sejm, in its individual deputies, or in the Sejm as an institution?

The thesis which maintains that the public criticism concerns this particular Sejm is supported by the fact that this Sejm became notorious for its controversial debates and decisions—for example, the debate on the anti-abortion bill, the decision to enshrine the constitutional provision on Christian values in radio and television, the affair over the publication of "Erotic Immunity" [allegedly fabricated "exposure" of sex scandals in parliament by a fake reporter], and the publicity over the information concerning irregular voting practices in parliament. All these events attracted much criticism from the public, and this in turn contributed to an even further lowering of the esteem in which the Sejm and its deputies are held. According to the majority of respondents, the Sejm has failed to discharge its duty of representing the electorate's interests. Does this mean that the Polish public has had enough of the present Sejm and would prefer to see it replaced by a new Sejm with a different composition? If new parliamentary elections had been announced a year ago, the majority of Poles would have been against them. Today the proponents of such an option are in a majority over its opponents. The proposal to dissolve the Sejm and call a new election goes hand in hand with the general public mood of disappointed hopes and lack of confidence in any future changes for the better. Nevertheless, the significant proportion of the views which disapprove of the Sejm's work is not tantamount to a general acceptance of authoritarian solutions which would signify a change of course and a rejection of the democratic rule model.

Would you consent/Would you not consent to a dissolution of parliament and the announcement of new elections?

I would consent	48 percent
I would not consent	30 percent
Hard to say	22 percent

Prime Minister Suchocka Visits Austria

WA0203153693

For reportage on the visit of Prime Minister Suchocka to Austria, including trade talks and her address to the Institute for Human Sciences, see the Austria section of the 2 March West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Danube Blockade Enters Eighth Day

AU0203134093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1241 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 2/3/1993—The 12 Yugoslav barges keep blocking the Danube at kilometer 856. Nothing changed last night.

Today, March 2, at 1200 it is eight days since the Yugoslav party resorted to this extreme way of expressing its protest against the transit restrictions imposed at the Romanian watergate Iron Gates II on the Yugoslav ships' transit, consistent with the UN Security Council resolutions on the embargo on Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro.)

Yesterday, Belgrade officials blamed the action of Danube blockage exclusively on the Yugoslav shipping trade unions. The same sources however informed that the normalization of the situation on the river, the lifting of the blockage, directly depends on the permission to the Yugoslav ships to pass through the Romanian lock at the Iron Gates II to their ports of origin.

Upstream and downstream kilometer 865 at least 16 groups of ships under various flags wait at anchor. Some of them are in the zone since last week.

Danube Still Blocked

AU0203185493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1652 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 2/3/1993—Nothing has changed so far at kilometer 856 on the Danube, the eighth day since Yugoslav ships blocked the navigable channel of the Danube off the Iron Gates II dam on the Danube, local sources inform. One day before, Yugoslav authorities had demanded access for their Yugoslav ships to return to ports of origin in exchange for unblocking the river.

The local ROMPRES correspondent found out from Iancu Diga, manager of the Iron Gates II hydropower system that the Romanian gates are operational and could sluice ships upstream or downstream whenever necessary.

Restricted from passage through the Romanian lock are ships under Yugoslav banner, in compliance with UN Security Council resolutions. In retaliation, Yugoslav navigators' union keeps 12 barges planted across the river blocking the Danube at kilometer 856.

On either side of the critical point Tuesday afternoon, 2 March, at least 16 ships and convoys were awaiting to resume course to their ports of destination. Some of them have been waiting there for more than a week.

FRY Barges End Danube Blockade

AU0203194493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1853 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 2/3/1993—According to radio Bucharest, Iron Gates II power station manager Iorgu Diga informed that a cablegram had been received by the control tower of the Romanian gate from Yugoslav ship Velibits conveying the message that the barrier formed by 12 Yugoslav barges downstream from the dam disbanded.

Traffic on the Danube is thus being resumed after interruption since Tuesday, 23 February, 1200 [1000 GMT].

Several convoys, under Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Yugoslav, Hungarian, German and Austrian banners have been awaiting transit, ten of them downstream and other six upstream.

At the moment, a Ukrainian ship with five barges is preparing for sluicing downstream.

Minister, Bulgarian Counterpart View Danube Project

AU0203195793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1817 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Belene, ROMPRES 2/3/1993—Romanian and Bulgarian transport ministers met at Belene, Bulgaria, Tuesday, 2 March, to talk about resuming works at the dam on the Danube connecting Turnu Magurele on the Romanian bank to Nikopol on the Bulgarian bank.

The Romanian delegation, headed by Transport Minister Paul Teodoru, includes officials of the Ministry of Industries, the National Electricity Corporation, and the Bucharest Institute for Hydropower Research and Design.

Considering the magnitude of the project, which implies irrigation systems, port facilities, navigation, transport, trade and tourism, Paul Teodoru and his Bulgarian counterpart Neycho Neev are reexamining the basic data of the planned Turnu Magurele-Nikopol hydropower system.

Foreign Minister on Balkans, NATO, Russia

BR0203162293 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 18 Feb 93 p 6

[Interview with Teodor Melescanu, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, by Michel Rosten; place and date not given: "Romania Prepares Balkan Initiative—Teodor Melescanu, Chief of Diplomatic Services, announced this in an interview with LA LIBRE BELGIQUE: Guarantees on Yugoslavia Could Be Given"]

[Text] On the occasion of President Iliescu's visit to Brussels, the Romanian Chief of Diplomatic Services

Teodor Melescanu granted an exclusive interview to LA LIBRE BELGIQUE. Here is the transcript.

[Rosten] How does your country view the visit that you and Mr. Iliescu made to NATO?

[Melescanu] We consider this an historic visit. He is the first Romanian president to visit NATO. Furthermore, it is very clear recognition of our country's progress on the road to democracy and a market economy. It is inconceivable that NATO would receive someone who does not meet the fundamental goals to which the Allies have always constrained themselves. It also reflects the changes that have come into effect in Europe subsequent to the disappearance of ideological and military confrontation. It gives us the opportunity to seek ways to increase cooperation with NATO in various major areas, such as our participation in peacekeeping operations (which could be carried out under NATO command), the conversion of military industry, or the restructuring of the armed forces' role and instruments in a democratic society.

[Rosten] You are renegotiating a treaty with Russia, which was signed with the Soviet Union. How is this shaping up, since Bucharest is calling for the restitution of a treasure seized during the war, as well as the Little Snakes Island?

[Melescanu] Experts and high-level officials have begun consultations. Among the difficult questions, obviously, figures the contested national treasure which was transferred to Russia during the World War I. However, I think that there is an important development, because the Russians have agreed to enter into negotiations on this point. In two months, experts from our two countries will meet to elaborate, on the basis of documents, a precise inventory of the valuables in this treasure. With regard to the Snakes Island, we have made negligible progress since Moscow considers that this subject does not fall within its competence. Since this inhabited island without resources is situated off the Ukrainian coast, perhaps we would better deal with the Kiev authorities.

[Rosten] You have always rejected the principle of military intervention in Yugoslavia. However, you refused to sign a common Balkan declaration to this effect in January. Why?

[Melescanu] We favor the idea of using political means to resolve the Yugoslav crisis. We do not believe in the virtues of direct military intervention. We also thought that there were multiple options between political means and direct military intervention. On the other hand, it would have been necessary, in the context of such a declaration, to chose the right moment, linked to the development of the crisis, such as the adoption of the Vance-Owen plan and the increased interest of the new U.S. administration, which also favors a negotiated solution.

[Rosten] Recently, you announced to the Romanian press that the Balkan states could take the initiative. Would you commit its forces now?

[Melescanu] There has been intense contact in the Balkan region lately. Bucharest has received various visitors, including the chiefs of the diplomatic services of Turkey and Greece. This Thursday [18 February], a tripartite (Romanian-Bulgarian-Ukrainian) meeting on the Danube will be held. And Saturday, a meeting is planned with Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic. This first round should allow us to see concretely what is feasible. If we have reason to be encouraged, we will contact the EC to set the goals. We could give, for example, nonintervention guarantees and respect for the borders of the ex-Yugoslavia.

Government Examines Subsidy Cuts as of 1 May

AU0203185793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1643 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 2/3/1993—Tuesday, March 2, the Romanian Government held a meeting chaired by Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu to make a first analysis of the proposed elimination of state subsidies on May 1.

Premier Vacaroiu assessed that action as a key moment for the whole of 1993. He said that subsidies elimination should be carried out under a strict supervision of the prices to prevent possible attempts of the economic agents to raise them artificially.

Concurrently he pointed out that eliminating subsidies on May 1 and introducing the value-added tax on July 1 were expected to bring about a stability of the prices.

It was decided to set up an interministry committee charged to make a detailed analysis of the influences subsidy-elimination would determine and deliver it within 10 days, the results thereof to be then discussed with the trade union confederations and published in the press.

ROMPRES Reviews Emigration Statistics

AU0203191593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1155 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 2/3/1993—"Tens upon tens of thousands of Hungarian ethnics left Romania after 1989," recently stated in Budapest Reformed Bishop Laszlo Tokes, blaming it on "the negative processes of assimilation and the at least indirect inducing of the Hungarian population to leave the country." The same phenomenon, Tokes maintains, was obvious also as regarded the German minority in Romania. He assessed that it would "indirectly" be about "an ethnic purge."

The Hungarian minority in Romania accounts for 7.1 percent of the country's total population and the German one for 0.5 percent. The January 1992 census recorded at that time 22,760,449 Romanian citizens in Romania, including 20,352,980 of Romanian nationality, 1,620,199 of Hungarian nationality, 119,436 of German nationality, and the remainder, about 650,000 were Gypsies, Ukrainians, Russian-Lipovans, Turks, Serbs, Tartars, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Jews, Croats, Czechs, Poles, Greeks, Armenians, and so on. As compared with the census taken in 1977, the Hungarian ethnic group in Romania recorded a natural growth of 7.1 percent. The German ethnics migrated in mass in the eighties, mainly for economic reasons, but also for family reunion.

From a news conference given by the Ministry of the Interior last February, participated in by Interior Minister General Ioan Danescu, as well as by other ministry officials, public opinion learned that 34,500 applications for emigration from Romania were filed in 1992. Of them, 8,000 were by German ethnics, 6,700 by Hungarian ethnics, and the remainder, a number of 19,000, by Romanian ethnics.

In an interview with daily ADEVARUL of November 24, 1992, the head of the General Department of Passports and Frontier Police of the Ministry of the Interior said that as a result of the openings after the overthrow of the communist regime, 96,929 Romanian citizens applied for residence abroad in 1990, the main country of destination being Germany for 66,121 emigrants, including 60,072 German ethnics. As many as 44,160 Romanian citizens emigrated from Romania in 1991, most of them, 19,307, being Romanian nationals, and the main country of destination was still Germany.

Government Discusses Wages, Wage Indexation Issues

AU0303114893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1044 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/3/1993—Romania's Government met on Thursday, 3 March, in a session under the chairmanship of Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu.

The agenda of the meeting includes talks over draft laws to regulate the indexation of wages for January-April 1993, the establishing of the minimal pre-tax salary on the economy and over the indexation, starting January 1993, of social securities benefits for the disabled, for orphans and war veterans as well as for farm workers.

Government Rejects Allegations of Training Terrorists

AU0203193093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] [Announcer] We will now present the following communique on behalf of the Romanian Government, read by its spokesperson, Mrs. Doina Jalea.

[Jalea recorded] In connection with the article published on 23 February 1993 in the newspaper BUKOVINA in Cernauti [Chernovtsy] and reprinted on 27 February by KISHINOVSKIY NOVOSTIY in Chisinau and by ITAR TASS news agency, an article that claims that professional terrorists have been trained in our country, and that they are to become an instrument in staging a coup d'etat in the Republic of Moldova and in organizing terrorist acts in Bessarabia, Bukovina, and the Odessa area, the Romanian Government dismisses these statements as fabrications whose obvious aim it is to overshadow the atmosphere between the two Romanian states, and not only between them, but also Romania's relations with the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and other states.

In connection with these false statements, I have been empowered to say the following:

The entire Romanian Government, as well as various government structures in Romania, have not undertaken and do not propose, by any means, to undertake actions to undermine or destabilize the situation in any other states, particularly in the Republic of Moldova.

Consequently, Romania's Government very firmly rejects these fabrications, which can only be the product of circles interested in undermining the fraternal relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova. By disseminating such disinformation, these circles are attempting to achieve both a deterioration in relations between Bucharest and Chisinau and the destabilization of a wider zone, which is completely at variance with the interests of the two independent Romanian states, in order to encourage the trend toward the restoration of the situation which existed prior to the proclamation of the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Moldova.

On this occasion, too, the Romanian Government declares that in developing special fraternal relations with the Republic of Moldova based on what was jointly agreed with the Chisinau authorities, and in everything it is doing, it has pursued and continues to work for the intensification of economic integration and the development of our common cultural and spiritual area—priority objectives accepted both in Bucharest and Chisinau. [end recording]

More on Antiterrorist Allegations

AU0303085593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] The Press Bureau of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] has sent the following communique to ROMPRES news agency for publication:

In connection with the news published yesterday by EVENIMENTUL ZILEI, news that was taken from certain Russian-language publications, and in accordance with which Moldovan citizens are being drilled in antiterrorist training units in Romania with a view to carrying out a state coup on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, the SRI Press Bureau has been authorized to announce the following:

1. The promotion of such news in the Russian-language press and the fact that it was taken over by the Romanian press by no means serves the positive relations that should exist and develop between Romania and the Republic of Moldova. Characteristic of the sensationalist press and pursuing the aim to disinform, news of such a caliber represents an amateurish and irresponsible dissemination of rumors lacking any real grounds.

2. As the organ of the central state administration, the SRI acts only in the sense and within the limits of Romania's political line, a policy that rules out de facto and de jure interference in the domestic affairs of the Republic of Moldova or the undermining of its (?sovereignty). The attempt made by certain publications, and accepted by certain government structures in Chisinau, to accredit such type of news, which did not appear accidentally in the Russian press, does nothing but prolong the series of diversionist actions designed to create tension in the fraternal relations between Romania and Moldova and hamper the ongoing delicate democratic process. At the same time, we have to bear in mind that publications like the ones in question can by no means serve as sources of information on the state policy in Romania or on SRI activity.

3. Should the antiterrorist training units in Romania be put at the disposal of certain designated citizens from the Republic of Moldova, then this would not occur except on the basis of an agreement between the relevant authorities of the two countries and only with the knowledge and approval of the given decisionmakers.

Similarly, the SRI Press Bureau has also been empowered to emphatically reject—as totally imaginary—the statements published in the British newspaper THE OBSERVER according to which there had allegedly been contacts between Russian and Serb generals in a hut near Timisoara in connection with an alleged sale of weapons from Russia to Serbia or the Krajina region.

The fictional nature of these allegations is proved not only by the nature of the source from which the London publication received its information—a correspondent in Geneva—but also by the fact—as has already been noted—that the correspondent in Geneva did not indicate any source to corroborate his information about Romania, not even a conventional one like well-informed sources or sources which do not want to be disclosed, the communique of the SRI Press Bureau states in conclusion.

Dailies Blame Tokes for Anti-Romanian Statement

AU0203115893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0946 GMT 2 Mar 93

[From the Romanian press review of 2 March]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES 2/3/1993—Most dailies published on March 2, comment on the statements made by the Reformed Bishop Laszlo Tokes, Honorary Chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], in Washington, according to which Romania would be the "scene of an ethnic purge." "Had he said that at a party, at a glass of palinka [Hungarian brandy], it could have been not much of a crime. But to tell it to the American press...," writes ROMANIA LIBERA" and adds that "Laszlo Tokes has been rather confused in his deeds and words of late. God forgive him."

"The irresponsible, threatening statements of Laszlo Tokes," says AZI, "make its qualities of a politician and Romanian citizen be questioned. If the head of a party directly calls the population of a country to an interethnic war, it has to answer for that in front of the country. Nothing can justify Mr. Tokes' periodical "outbursts," that are always full of hatred towards the Romanian people."

After writing that Laszlo Tokes' statement is not at all at variance with his personality, the Reformed bishop being known for saying, from time to time, things proving his instability, EVENIMENTUL ZILEI writes that "this week seems to be very difficult for the power. It has to answer for many things it should be kept responsible for. The power had to pass a difficult exam. Laszlo Tokes' words on an ethnic purge are so much out of proportion that I can only suspect him that, even if not fully aware of that, he wanted to help the power. By a new, huge diversion." [passage omitted]

Former Communist Leader Released for Health Reasons

AU0303134293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1158 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/03/1993—Romania's Supreme Court of Justice decided in its March 1 sitting to set free for a period of four months, Ion Coman, on health grounds.

Ion Coman, reserve colonel, former secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, reserve colonel, was sentenced to 25 years of prison for aggravated murder, was stripped of civil rights for 10 years and of his military rank. Ion Coman was involved in the December 1989 repression in Timisoara, the town where the Romanian revolution of 1989 burst out.

U.S. Continues To Airdrop Aid to Besieged Towns

AU0303104493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] The U.S. Army last night continued to drop humanitarian aid to eastern Bosnia. Four U.S. Hercules aircraft early this morning returned to the Frankfurt air base after dropping 24 tonnes of food and medication.

According to the statement by one of the pilots, the action was carried out above Konjevic Polje.

In the previous two nights the U.S. Army dropped aid above Cerska and Zepa—two towns surrounded by the Serbian troops. The U.S. Army confirmed that numerous packages were dropped during the first night within the targeted zone. However, it was stressed that the civilian population finds it very difficult to collect the aid due to the intense fighting.

UN Official Disputes Aspin

AU0303141993 Paris AFP in English 1359 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 3 (AFP)—United Nations relief officials on Wednesday [3 March] disputed reports by U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin that the U.S. airdrops may be suspended because they had succeeded in pressing Serb militias to allow relief convoys through to besieged Moslem villages.

"I am still waiting to see if they (the convoys) get through", said Tony Land, an official with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) stationed in Sarajevo. "Maybe the Americans know something that I don't."

"It would be very difficult to be more inflexible," he said in describing the attitude of the Serbian forces.

Christiane Berthiaume, a UNHCR spokeswoman in Geneva, expressed surprise at Aspin's statments, saying that no relief convoys had been able to reach the Moslem enclaves for eight days.

The last convoy to leave Belgrade on Tuesday toward Gorazde was stopped by the Serbs at Podromanija, 60 kilometers (35 miles) away, she said. "We will be following developments very closely".

Aspin made his statement on Tuesday after the United States had completed three airdrop missions involving 24 tonnes of food and medecine.

"What we had in mind doing was doing it for a little while, and if it worked to free up the land transportation, we would stop it for a while," he said.

Ron Redmond, a spokesman for the UNHCR, said his organization had not been officially informed about any suspension of the airdrop and still had personnel in Frankfurt inspecting aid packages before loading.

"For us it is still business as usual," he said.

"We are not happy with what we are getting into eastern Bosnia", he noted. The last convoy to get through into eastern Bosnia was the one that reached Gorazde on February 25, he added, but would not be drawn into a direct comment on Aspin's assertion regarding land convoys.

In London, former Yugoslav prime minister Milan Panic urged that U.S. airdrops on eastern Bosnia be maintained, saying that between 30 and 40 percent of the aid was getting through "to the people who truly need it."

Panic, in London on a two-day visit at the invitation of the British Yugoslav parliamentary group, proposed a plan for a "Balkan Commonwealth of Independent States" after the fighting has ended.

Panic, a U.S. citizen, backed the peace plan set out by negotiators Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance, saying there was now "room for hope that the worst may be over and that active fighting will cease in the not-too-distant future.

"Now is the time to prepare for the regional economic cooperation that will be necessary to repair the ravages of war and offer hope for a brighter future for the survivors, particularly for the youth throughout the region."

Panic said the U.S. air drops of aid to eastern Bosnia were a "marvellous beginning" and should continue.

"The latest reports say 30-40 percent" of the drops were finding their way "to the people who truly need it," he said.

He said he saw a good chance for a settlement to the conflict through peace talks at U.N. headquarters in New York.

"I'm almost sure it will be very soon," he said. But he added, "I wonder how viable a peace treaty is going to be since we have people who are not going to follow it."

"Most unfortunately," he said, "there will be the need for using force" to enforce such a treaty.

No Aid Found in Majevica

AU0203212893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Report by Dragan Bera]

[Text] Serbian defenders have taken advantage of the temporary lull on the Majevica battlefield to search the terrain for the U.S. packages expected to have been delivered by air. There has been no result, however, either today or last night, so the fighters are disappointed in the promised aid, as neither packages nor leaflets with the warning message have been found in the Majevica region controlled by the fighters of the Serbian Republic. During the reconnaissance action, it was established that the defense lines are firm and secure.

Zepa Residents Find Medicine

AU0203160293 Paris AFP in English 1547 GMT 2 March 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, March 2 (AFP)—Serb forces Tuesday [2 March] reportedly captured the Moslem enclave of Cerska, a target of the U.S. airdrop, as U.N. spokesmen and radio hams said none of the air-dropped relief supplies had reached local residents. [passage omitted]

The medicine was found by the inhabitants of Zepa, who were still looking for the food, according to a radio ham who contacted Sarajevo.

Sources close to the Bosnian military command denied Cerska had fallen, saying Bosnian forces had retreated but still controlled the situation. [passage omitted]

The UNHCR has never gotten any aid into Cerska and some 30,000 residents are said to be holed up in cellars, many starving and pounded with regular Serbian artillery attacks. [passage omitted]

In Belgrade, a journalist from the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA told AFP that Serbian barracks in the east said none of the relief crates had fallen behind Serbian lines.

Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic, speaking on BBC radio, said late Monday that a few of the packages from the first U.S. airdrop had been found around Cerska but intense Serbian shelling had made it difficult to retrieve them.

Officials on Aid Operation

AU0203175893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Miljenko Jenduh has prepared a report concerning the humanitarian aid relief operation in eastern Bosnia.

[Jenduh] The U.S. humanitarian airdrop in eastern Bosnia to places where humanitarian convoys have not yet reached or have reached only rarely is in its second day, or rather night. As we know, the first night the parachutes were supposed to land in the Cerska area, and last night in the Zepa area. We have with us Becir Uceljic, coordinator of the Bureau for Humanitarian Actions of the Association of Citizens of Eastern Bosnia. Based on your information, and you are in contact with people on the ground where the packets should have landed, can you tell us whether any of them have reached the people to whom the aid was intended?

[Uceljic] The information I am about to relate is absolutely accurate. This morning before 0900 radio amateurs in Cerska, Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde all gave us identical information—none of these regions, previously marked as destinations for the aid, have seen any packets at all. What hurts me particularly is when some of our officials give statements saying that some packets have landed in Cerska, while this area is in an extremely difficult situation, and I am talking from the humanitarian point of view. There are so many hungry people there. They have never received any aid and they have been besieged for almost a year. They have had nothing yet, nothing at all.

Our information concerning Zepa, and last night the parachutes were supposed to be dropped over Zepa, is correct. Nothing had landed in Zepa by 0900 this morning. We will wait and see until 1500 if any information arrives from the ground. We are certain of our information as people have organized round-the-clock tours of duty, and every inch of the ground has been searched by these reconnaissance teams. They have the correct information. So, as of 0900 this morning, not one packet had landed in our region.

[Jenduh] As for new information—we hope that some of the aid at least will reach the people—you can expect more in our evening newscasts, but let us address another problem now—unfortunately, there are so many problems. The humanitarian aid and this U.S. airdrop operation are possibly a way of solving one part of the problem. However, problems abound in Cerska, Konjevic Polje, Kamenica, Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde. Murat Efendic, member of the War Presidency of Srebrenica and the subregion Srebrenica, Vlasenica, Bratunac, and Zvornik, would like to say a few words about this.

[Efendic] It is true that if a person is to fight, to fight for his life, then he has to have food. Food is one of the conditions, but if these people are to stay in their areas, there are other conditions that have to be met. So far we have given warnings several times to the international and domestic public, all the political structures, and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces Supreme Command, about the critical situation in military terms in eastern Bosnia. We have warned them about the large concentration of Serbian-chetnik forces along the Drina River, and that they have been crossing over the bridge in Skelani, the bridge in Ljubovija and Zvornik without obstruction, and every time some of their manpower and equipment are destroyed, they get replacements and reinforcements easily.

Srebrenica has been besieged for 330 days, as have Cerska, Konjevic Polje, and Kamenica, and it is very hard to survive in that region, it is hard to defend this part of eastern Bosnia, and Bosnia as a whole. We are without the means to fight just as we are without aid in food and medicine.

We again appeal to all state structures, and we again warn General Morillon, who promised me personally in the talks we had on 4 February in his office on how to provide urgent help for Srebrenica, Kamenica, Cerska, and Konjevic Polje. He told me that the convoys would get through (?and establish peace.) Our Presidency accepted his proposal and gave him our request in writing, as he asked. At the protest meeting of the citizens of eastern Bosnia, that was held on 9 and 10 February, he addressed the citizens and said that he would sent out his observers within two days to Srebrenica, Cerska, Konjevic Polje, and Kamenica, to try and achieve a cease-fire, and if his observers did not succeed, then he personally would go there. We again call on him to keep his promise to go there, just as he went to Nevesinje within hours and did what he did there. We all know what he did and why.

We also appeal to our delegation at the New York talks, and to President Alija Izetbegovic, that the talks should not continue while the Serbian-chetnik aggression is continuing against eastern and southeastern Bosnia.

Karadzic Urges End to Airdrops

LD0303021193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0107 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] New York, March 2 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic sent Tuesday [2 March] an open letter to the U.S. public inviting U.S. President Bill Clinton to demonstrate caution and wisdom and persevere in the efforts towards reaching a peaceful solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In the letter the Bosnian Serb delegation at the New York talks distributed to journalists, Karadzic recalls the chronology of the Yugoslav crisis, the influence of the outside factor, primarily Germany, the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, as well as the devastating consequences of the anti-Serb media campaign.

He said he appealed to President Clinton to fulfill his obligation and persevere on the road of caution and peace, and in this way secure for himself the position of leader and statesman whose wisdom saved the world from potential fire at a time of crisis.

Karadzic also called on Clinton to abandon humanitarian aid airdrops to Bosnia-Hercegovina and suggested that fully adequate land routes be used to these ends.

Karadzic told newsmen there was a possibility for Muslims to shoot at the U.S. planes so as to blame the Serbs and draw America into war.

He noted that the U.S. humanitarian operation could transform overnight the local Balkan conflict into a Balkan war, and perhaps even a world war.

He proceeded to cite a long list of inconsistencies on the part of the international community towards the Yugoslav crisis, violations of constitutionality and international law, and blamed primarily Germany and the European Community.

Karadzic also accused the leading media in the U.S., and elsewhere in the world, for misinforming the public, something that indirectly influenced taking wrong political decisions.

Local TV Reportedly Films Drop

AU0203152193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Report by Risto Djogo from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] It is relatively calm on the Sarajevo battlefield today. After a three-day fierce offensive by Muslim forces particularly against the northern part of the city, it is relatively calm on the Vogosca battlefield as well. True, there is some sporadic shooting along the line of separation, but there has been no significant move of that line. [passage omitted]

It is interesting that last night Serbian Television, Pale's Channel S, managed to film the delivery of humanitarian aid to eastern Bosnia by parachute. Namely, packages with American humanitarian aid were dropped on the region of Cerska during last night. The packages fell on the line of separation between Serbian and Muslim sides.

Airdrops Called Anti-Serb 'Media War'

AU0303085093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Report by Dragan Bera report from Banja Luka]

[Text] At this moment nobody can say for sure where the U.S. parachutes with humanitarian aid intended for the Muslims in eastern Bosnia have strayed. Both the Muslim Sarajevo Radio and Croatian Radio report today that people in Srebrenica, Cerska, Koljevic Polje, and Kamenica have seen nothing and that nothing has fallen from the sky. Therefore, these Muslim and Croatian sources report that the hunger in eastern Bosnia continues and they are presenting the U.S. action as a sort of a circus from which nobody has profited. At the same time, Muslim sources report that after fierce struggles, Serbian forces have taken Cerska where the parachutes were supposed to fall, as well as that there are 300 dead Muslims. However, Serbian military sources deny that. This shows that a new media war against Serbs in Bosnia is being developed around the parachute action. Everything shows that Alija Izetbegovic's plan called Step by Step to Foreign Military Intervention is gaining impetus and that new complications connected with the parachute aid can still be expected.

UNHCR Confirms Fall of Cerska to Serbs

AU0203204493 Paris AFP in English 2027 GMT 2 March 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, March 2 (AFP)—The Moslem enclave of Cerska in eastern Bosnia has fallen to Serbian forces, a United Nations refugee aid spokesperson said Tuesday [2 March], quoting radio amateurs at the scene. [passage omitted]

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees spokeswoman Lyndall Sachs told AFP that amateur radio operators had told the agency's representative at Tuzla that Cerska was in Serb hands and that there had been numerous civilian casualties. [passage omitted]

Serbs Reportedly Massacre Civilians

LD0203172793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Report from Tuzla by VECERNJI LIST correspondent Ekrem Avdic]

[Excerpt] The fiercest enemy attacks today are taking place in the Cerska area in the zone of the responsibility of the 2d Corps [of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army], while less intense fighting is in progress on the battlefields around Brcko and Gradacac. Other battlefields saw only minor provocations from artillery and infantry weapons.

We must say that the chetniks entered Cerska today, that they are freely moving around the town, and that they killed around 300 defenseless civilians—women, children, and the elderly. Reports from Srebrenica today say that the humanitarian aid dropped by American planes has not reached the free areas of Srebrenica, Cerska, Kamenica, and Konjevic Polje; thus the drama of the suffering people continues. Fourteen civilians, including two children, died of starvation today in the Srebrenica area alone. [passage omitted]

Serbs 'Sowing Death' in Cerska

AU0303105493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Report by information service of Vlasenica war presidency]

[Text] We are calling in the name of the endangered and suffering residents of Cerska, who have been humiliated again. Throughout the long-lasting offensive, tired residents of Cerska, worn down by starvation, gaze at the sky from where salvation is supposed to come.

Last night salvation was in reach. However, everything turned into a tragedy. The chetniks noticed that humanitarian aid was being dropped and they opened artillery fire, which has long been sowing death in this region, at the areas where the cargo had landed. As a result of shelling by 205mm howitzers in Milic Brdo, 105mm howitzers in Iljino Brdo, mortars from Rogosija, and tanks from [word indistinct], several dozen starving Cerska residents, who are exhausted from hiding in caves, were killed. Because of the incessant shelling it is difficult to ascertain the number of wounded. After the shelling many of them sought salvation in any type of shelter. They do not even have the strength to come out.

We are being humiliated, oh, noble and humane world. We feel like a prematurely born child, like an animal to which bait has been offered only to cost it its life. How long will this last?

We would like a convoy of vehicles to save the wounded; we want a corridor to save the civilians. What is going on? A human monster who is a listed war criminal has proven more powerful than everybody. Nobody in the world has the strength to oppose him. Some 20,000 residents of Cerska are on the brink of a tragedy. There is no end to the humiliation. We have been turned into a toy of a monkey upon which (?a test of) human endurance is being performed. The efforts of our beloved radio amateurs, who the war presidency of Vlasenica Commune publicly praises and asks to continue at the same pace to save the innocent population of Cerska, are all in vain. We report that they are the only ones who want to help the people who are living through shelling day and night. And finally, [word indistinct] of the rest of the residents, and [word indistinct] is nearing its end. Prompted by the survival instinct they will be compelled to take the road of uncertainly themselves. Negotiations and resolutions bring only death to the Cerska region anyway.

That was the information service of the war presidency of Vlasenica Commune reporting.

20,000 Reported Fleeing Cerska

LD0203214293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] We have learned that over 20,000 people from Cerska are on their way to Konjevic Polje, where the first groups of men, women, and children arrived early this evening. The Serbs are incessantly opening fire on the refugees. Corpses are lying on the road. Some 1,500 people are in this group.

A radio ham from Cerska, who is also fleeing and has brought with him a radio transmitter and a car battery, told this to a HINA [Croatian news agency] correspondent via radio hams in Split. Saying his battery was almost exhausted and that he would not be able to make any further contacts, he called on the international community to do everything to enable the Konjevic Polje refugees to get to Tuzla.

The same source says that the Serbs have burned down Kamenica. About 2,500 women, children, and old people, who are without food and clothing, are awaiting help on a nearby hill.

Serbs Reportedly Machine-Gun Refugees

AU0203200493 Paris AFP in English 2000 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, March 2 (AFP)—A column of more than 20,000 people has left the Moslem enclave of Cerska in eastern Bosnia and was heading Tuesday [2 March] for Konjevic Polje under Serbian fire, a radio ham told the Croatian news agency HINA.

A first group of the fittest men, women and children had already reached Konjevic Polje on the road to Tuzla, the amateur radio operator, who was among the refugees and carrying his transmitter with him, said according to HINA.

"The Serbs are firing nonstop with their machine guns on the column of refugees from Cerska, where there are also 1,500 wounded. The dead are being left on the road," the ham told a Split-based HINA journalist at 1600 GMT.

The same amateur radio operator said tht 2,500 old men, women and children were stuck on a hill near Kamenica, north of Cerska, and were in need of help.

HINA earlier said, quoting Bosnian Croat sources, that Serbian forces were preparing to drive 3,500 refugees out of western Bosnia on Wednesday in exchange for prisoners and local people.

These "non-Serb" refugees were expected to cross the frontlines near Travnik town for the exchange, according to the local branch of the Bosnian Croat Defense Council (HVO).

Last week, about 1,500 Moslem civilians from Sipovo sought refuge in Travnik.

In Geneva, UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond said reports had been received that two villages in western Bosnia—Glamoc, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of Travnik and Mrkonjic Grad, about 60 kilometers (40 miles) northwest—had "been designated for expulsions".

The HVO did not identify the areas from which the 3,500 were expected to be expelled Wednesday.

British UN Battalion Offers To Evacuate Cerska

AU0203175193 Paris AFP in English 1737 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, March 2 (AFP)—A British batallion of the U.N. Protection Force is on stand-by in Tuzla, north of here, to evacuate the Bosnian town of Cerska, which is on the point of falling to Serbian forces, an UNPROFOR spokesman said Tuesday [2 March].

But this offer of assistance has been rejected by the Serbs, who want any evacuation to take place under their terms, Commander Barry Frewer said, without elaborating. [passage omitted]

Conditions Set for Evacuation

LD0203150993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] At a meeting yesterday representatives of the Bosnian authorities in Tuzla requested that the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] organize the evacuation of the wounded—numbering about 1,500 according to Bosnian sources—from Cerska to Tuzla. As the UNHCR spokeswoman in Zagreb, Alemka Lisinski, has announced, a convoy of trucks to be driven by Swedish paramedics is ready to leave.

At a meeting held this morning between UNHCR representative in Sarajevo Larry Hollingworth and General Ratko Mladic [commander of the Bosnian Serb army], General Mladic conditioned the opening of the humanitarian corridor to Cerska by demanding that either the defenders of Cerska surrender their arms, or that a safe corridor be opened for everyone, which implies the evacuation of all residents of Cerska. Cerska can be reached only if both conditions are fulfilled [as received]. The UNHCR stresses that the opening of humanitarian corridors cannot be conditioned by political or military demands.

A ham radio operator from besieged Zepa, where the American humanitarian aid for eastern Bosnia was dropped, reported today that the parcels had not been found yet and that local Muslim defenders were still searching the area. Local residents have not managed to find a single parcel dropped by American planes above eastern Bosnia in the night between Monday [1 March] and Tuesday and the night before that, although nine parcels dropped above Cerska have been found, it has been revealed by UN sources in Sarajevo and radio hams today.

UN Convoy Evacuating Wounded

LD0303091493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] As UN officials have announced, a convoy which is to evacuate the wounded from the Cerska area in eastern Bosnia has set off. A decision on this was reached last night, despite the fact that Serb commanders have refused to grant safe passage to the convoy. The convoy will try to make its way to Konjevic Polje, which is under the control of Muslim forces. About 1,500 wounded and ill people from Cerska have gathered there.

Evacuation Convoy Blocked

AU0303105393 Paris AFP in English 1014 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (AFP)—An 11-truck convoy of relief vehicles seeking to evacuate the wounded from fighting in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina was blocked at the Serbian border Wednesday [3 March] while waiting for authorisation to advance from Bosnian Serbs, officials said here.

The convoy of ambulance trucks left Belgrade earlier on Wednesday and were waiting at Banja Koviljaca, on the Serbian side of the border between the two republics, the spokeswoman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Lyndall Sachs, said.

"We hope to be able to reach the wounded," she added, noting that talks were currently under way both in New York—where U.N. and European Community negotiators were to confer with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, and in the Bosnian Serb stronghold at Pale near Sarajevo.

The 11 ambulances, including one provided by the Medecins sans Frontieres organisation, aimed to evacuate casualties from fighting in the Cerska Moslem enclave who had managed to flee to the neighbouring enclave of Konjevic Pole, 30 kilometres (18 miles) south of the northwestern town of Zvornik, Sachs said.

She noted that the Konjevic Polje enclave had come under heavy Serb shelling overnight, citing reports from ham radio operators received by the UNHCR office in Tuesday, more than 20,000 people fled the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Cerska amid conflicting claims that the town had fallen to Serb forces, and reports of intensified "ethnic cleansing" by Serbs in the north of the country.

Meanwhile U.S. cargo planes dropped relief supplies over besieged enclaves in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina for the third time in as many days late Tuesday.

In Sarajevo meanwhile Bosnian Vice-President Ejup Ganic said exhausted Bosnian forces had abandoned front lines around Cerska but denied it had fallen to Serb forces who have besieged the town for 10 months.

Presidency's Requests to UN on 'Latest Genocide'

LD0203220793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] [words indistinct] and as a result of this dramatic situation, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency has decided to inform the world public about these facts and to make specific requests to the UN Security Council.

The following is requested from this UN body: First, that detailed reports about the latest genocide against Muslims and Croats in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina be distributed to all participants in the UN negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina; second, we urgently demand that the United Nations send observers to Banja Luka, and we call on journalists to visit this town and find out about genocide against Muslims and Croats; third, since chetniks are continuing to carry out genocide during the negotiations on peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina and during the cease-fire proclaimed by the legal bodies of power in Bosnia-Hercegovina, we call on the Security Council to prevent further crimes against civilians in Bosnia-Hercegovina by all available means.

These poinrs are contained in a statement for the public issued by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

Muslims Say Yugoslav Army Shelling Srebrenica

AU0203201693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Report by the Srebrenica War Presidency]

[Excerpt] Since early morning hours, the aggressor has been attempting an infantry breakthrough along the Drina River, in the direction of Drinjaca-Zelinje-Bratunac-(?Hakovici). These attacks have been supported by tanks, armored transporters, and Praga, while the free territory has been exposed to fire from heavy artillery in Serbia. Special volunteer units, the so-called panzer units [pancer], from Serbia are taking part in the attacks alongside the local chetniks, while artillery support is provided by the so-called Yugoslav Army. [passage omitted]

Overnight Shelling in Republic Reported

AU0303120193

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 3 March reports some fighting in the republic overnight:

Correspondent Hamiz Deronjic in his dispatch from Brcko reports that "the chetniks" last night targeted the ruins of a mosque in Omerbegovaca with "(?Maljutkas)-." He further says that the positions of defenders in Dubravice Donje, Lipovac, Bajici, Dubrave and Poljaci "were pounded by mortars, heavy machine guns, and infantry fire throughout the night. Chetniks in the northern corridor continue to receive strong reinforcements from Serbia," Deronjic says, reporting that trucks were moving in the direction Bjeljina-Brcko-Loncari.

"Olovo lived through another hard day of war during which the town, nearby villages and the lines of defense were exposed to (?fierce) artillery fire," Zelic Djindo reports. "The night and the morning were peaceful, with only sporadic explosions at the south and southeast access roads to the town," Djindo also reports.

"There is no peace on the Gradacac battle front," the studio announcer says. He mentions constant "provocations from 82-mm and 120-mm mortars along the entire line of the front." As he says, "the tank that pounded the positions in (?Uklicine) is constantly opening fire. The chetnik infantry was firing at the lines of defense in Novalici, Pozarike, Mesici," he further says. The report mentions some "infantry clashes along the lines of defense" this morning.

Belgrade Radio Claims Most Fronts Quiet 2 March

AU0303085493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] There were no major clashes between Serb units and the forces loyal to Alija Izetbegovic [Bosnian president] on the majority of the fronts in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina yesterday. There was no fighting on the Sarajevo front, except occasional provocations, mainly with light arms.

The Sava basin region was mainly quiet, while there were only sporadic provocations by the Muslims side in the Bosna valley. There was no news from east Bosnia about fierce fighting either, the kind of fighting that took place in the last few days, particularly on the territory of Bratunac.

The fighting continued on the north Dalmatian front, this was stated by the Headquarters of the army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. As in the last few days, this amounted to mainly the exchange of artillery fire.

The Croatian forces pounded the villages of Ganjane, Kadina Glavica, and Sinja, on the Drnis front and the Skradin hinterland. The villages between Zadar and Benkovac were not spared either. The broader regions of the villages of Smokovic, Nadim, and Kakma came under artillery fire.

The Croatian forces were also active on the territory of eastern Slavonia. Military sources in Knin claim that the Serbian village of Tenja was attacked with mortars and snipers.

Croat Leader on Continuing Muslim 'Provocations'

LD0203180893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Despite an agreement reached yesterday between the command of the Busovaca brigade of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Muslim brigade in Busovaca that all provocations and conflicts must cease by 1300 on 1 March, Busovaca is still under blockade, and armed provocations by the Muslim forces and the plunder of goods, vehicles, food, and money sent to Busovaca and central Bosnia continue. This was stated by Vice President Kordic of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosnia at a news conference today given by the operational zone of the HVO of central Bosnia.

The Muslim forces based in the occupied villages of Prosje, Gornji Solakovici, Mejdani, and Milovice have been causing provocations along HVO positions in Busovaca, Kordic said. Travnik is almost completely occupied by numerous Muslim formations which are holding all important points in the town and its surroundings, Kordic said. He again warned on the problem of Vares, saying that the Muslim forces wish to turn the town into a new Gorni Vakuf or Busovaca.

The HVO of central Bosnia has got the names of most of the Muslim criminals who massacred the Croatian population in the villages of Lasva and Dusina, Kordic told journalists. He added that the entire documentation was given to the war crimes commission.

At the news conference the vice president of the the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia also warned of unacceptable behavior by some individuals and groups within the HVO of central Bosnia. He said, for instance, that a group of HVO members raided the apartment of Ibrahim Hodzic in Busovaca and beat him up; he later succumbed to his injuries. Such behavior will not be tolerated within the HVO ranks, and all offenders will be punished.

Croats Accuse Muslims of Breaking Cease-Fire

LD0303011693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] This afternoon, local commands of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army reached a new cease-fire agreement in Busovaca. But shortly afterwards the Muslim formations opened fire twice on the positions of the HVO, which did not retaliate. One member of the HVO sustained serious injuries.

Serbs Reportedly Plan To Expel Non-Serbs

LD0203183293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Serbs have announced that they will expel another large group of non-Serbs from the Bosnian Krajina area. The group will consist of approximately 3,500 people who are to cross over to the area under the control of Croatian and Muslim forces near Travnik. We learned this from the Croatian Defense Council's Travnik office for the exchange of people and the municipal civil defense headquarters.

Internal Affairs Ministry Notes Ethnic Cleansing

LD0203225293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Reports have been coming from Bosnian Krajina, more precisely from the Banja Luka municipality, on the continuation of ethnic cleansing perpetrated by Serb paramilitary formations. As the Bosnia-Hercegovina Internal Affairs Ministry said, according to the findings by Vojislav Kupresanin and Radoslav Brzanin, convoys including five to 10 busloads of evicted non-Serb citizens were taken daily from the Banja Luka municipality before the destruction of the bridge in [name indistinct]. Following the destruction of the bridge, chetniks have been evicting 500-600 Croats and Muslims from the Banja Luka region daily. Around 10,000 non-Serb inhabitants who are going to experience the same remain in the very town. There are no non-Serbs in the suburbs of (Sidari) and (Pobrzje), while chetniks encircled the suburbs of [name indistinct] and (Debeljaca), isolated them from the rest of the town, and are ready to evict the remaining Croats and Muslims soon. Only 1,000 Croats and Muslims remain in the well-known Mala Carsija; they were ordered by chetniks to get ready to leave their homes. Owing to the terror by their compatriots, 10,000 to 15,000 Serbs who did not wish to take part in the crime have left Banja Luka.

According to the findings of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Internal Affairs Ministry, able-bodied Croatian and Muslim men are particularly persecuted. The military police, made up mainly of local criminals, raid their apartments late at night and take them to (Sihitluci), where they are executed. So far, 10,000 able-bodied Croats and Muslims have been forcefully mobilized: 5,000 of them have been sent to battlefields in Knin, Gradacac, Doboj, and Orasje, where they were deployed along front lines so that their behavior is controlled and lest the chetnik volunteers should die. The remaining 5,000 forcefully mobilized men have been deployed at other battle zones in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Despite this, in Banja Luka there is a lack of soldiers for the so-called Serb Army. As a consequence, all Serbs from 13 to 60 years of age have been mobilized, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Internal Affairs Ministry said.

Karadzic Urges Separation of Disputed, Agreed Maps

LD0303022093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0044 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] New York, March 2 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic proposed Tuesday [2 March] to cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen to separate the disputed from the undisputed maps on division of Bosnia-Hercegovina so as to step up reaching peace agreement.

We have discussed the maps, said Karadzic after talking for two hours with Vance and Owen. He noted that he could not see how the problem could be solved except to separate the disputed from the undisputed maps if a speedy agreement was to be reached.

Karadzic said the maps were 70-80 percent undisputed and that accord should be reached on this part of the plan. The disputed territories should for a period of time be placed under the control of the United Nations and gradually work on finding the best possible solution.

He did not say how Vance and Owen reacted to this proposal.

Vance and Owen had held intensive discussions Tuesday with the representatives of the three warring parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but apparently without coming much closer to peace.

Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, as well as the representatives of Bosnian Croats Mate Boban and Mile Akmadzic, talked for three and a half hours with Vance and Owen. However, their statements, which followed, were very terse.

Boban said the talks were progressing and would be continued that evening. Izetbegovic's statement was even shorter: There's nothing new, he said.

Commenting the writing of the U.S. press, Karadzic told journalists at the UN Headquarters that Bosnian Muslims were falsely claiming the parachuted humanitarian aid to Bosnia over the past few days went off target. The aim of such claims was to have the airplanes fly at lower altitudes so Muslims could down them and, as customary, blame the Serbs, said Karadzic.

HVO Clarifies Decision on Croatia Border Crossing

LD0203174093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] In connection with, as is stressed, imprecise interpretations of the decision reached at an extraordinary session of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna on 27 February 1993 concerning the closing of border crossings with the Republic of Croatia for all freight and persons serving the needs of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, the HVO information office announced today that the decision only applies to military transports. It does not apply to convoys transporting humanitarian aid and goods for civilian needs. At the same time, the decision is implemented in such a way that the movement of transport vehicles for the parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina where the HVO and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army are jointly fighting the aggressor is not hindered, the HVO stresses.

Army Combats 'Chetnik Propaganda' Effect on Morale

AU0303202293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] We have received a statement from the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army Press Center that says the following:

Just like many times before, chetnik [Serbian] propaganda has recently again tried to imbue into our army's ranks the idea that the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be over in 10-15 days. This is just another of the many dirty tricks and lies that the chetnik propaganda machinery has been fabricating since the beginning of the war, aimed at demotivating our fighters from furthering the struggle for liberation and making them passive in carrying out their combat duties.

This chetnik propaganda ruse is deliberately timed to coincide with the start of the New York talks, in order to create the impression among the fighters of our army that there is no sense in furthering the liberation struggle for a free, sovereign, indivisible, unitary, democratic, and civilian Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Apart from wanting to dumb the offensive freedom-fighting spirit of our fighters, the chetniks also use these propaganda tricks and lies to avoid the collapse of the combat morale and combat capacity in their own ranks. Thus they are trying to keep the occupied territories under their control and to use such strong blackmailing positions to conduct talks on the ending to the war and ethnic division of Bosnia-Hercegovina. They are counting on such a situation on the ground being verified by the relevant factors in the international community.

The chetniks are ruthlessly attacking the positions of our units throughout the republic, particularly the territory along the Drina River and the northern corridor, and the positions of most of the units in Sarajevo. Therefore, they are continuing with their well-known methods of killing, torturing, and forcefully evicting the population, as the latest events in Cerska and Srebrenica bear witness, says the statement by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army Press Center.

New Zealand Foreign Minister Meets With Tudjman

LD0303030393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman received New Zealand Minister of External Relations Don McKinnon. They had talks about the situation in Croatia, particularly the extension of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate. President Tudjman stressed that Croatia would be ready to extend the mandate of the UN peacekeeping forces for a few more months provided that in this period the Vance plan is implemented, i.e. the Serb paramilitary formations are disarmed, return of refugees and displaced persons is enabled, and the constitutional and legal order is established on the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia. Having informed the top-ranking guest that only 30 percent of the overall Serb population in Croatia live in the UN protected areas, Dr. Tudjman reiterated that the constitutional law on minorities guarantees all national and civil rights to the Serbs in Croatia, and in areas where they constitute the majority they also enjoy a high degree of autonomy. The Serbs have their representatives in the Croatian Assembly, government, and the Supreme Court President Tudjman said.

The New Zealand and Croatian foreign ministers, Don McKinnon and Dr. Zdenko Skrabalo, also met in Zagreb this evening. Following their talks, the two ministers stated that ties between Croatia and New Zealand were very strong because of numerous immigrants who went from our country to that far-away country at the turn of the century. Their talks focused on attempts to find a solution to the crisis in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina in a peaceful and diplomatic way. At the same time, they discussed the role of the UNPROFOR, whose mandate in Croatia should be greater so that in the coming months its actions can become more effective.

Zagreb Radio Reports Serb Defeat in Drnis Area

LD0203155193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] Another attempt by Serb irregulars to take more territory in the eastern section of the Drnis area has fallen through. The Croatian troops in the area have beaten back all Serb attacks and are firmly holding the important strategic point of (Ilova Glava). Several Serb irregulars lost their lives in the fighting. The battles that raged in the Popove Polje area are said to have died down in the evening hours.

General Alert in Effect in Sibenik Area

LD0303083493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] A general alert sounded at 2130 last night is still in effect in the whole of the Sibenik municipality because of attacks launched on the Sibenik area by Serb rebels with heavy long-range cannons and Orkan and Oganj multiple rocket launchers, the information service of the Sibenik Brigade of the Croatian Army reported this morning.

Chetniks fired multiple-rocket launcher shells on the areas of Vodice [seaside resort 10 km northwest of Sibenik] and Lozovac [10 km north of Sibenik] as well. The attack on the town with heavy cannons and multiple-rocket launchers was repeated twice after midnight last night. Schools have closed and local ship and bus lines have been suspended.

Fernetici Border Crossing Opens Again

AU0203152493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Branka Mavsar, press spokesman of the Internal Affairs Office in Koper, has reported that Slovene policemen at the Fernetici border crossing this morning successfully disarmed Bosnia-Hercegovina citizen Bajazit Ahmic. No details about the police action are known, except that it was carried out without difficulties.

Unharmed Ahmic was taken to the police station in Sezana. The border crossing was reopened immediately.

Tudjman's Statement on Relations Analyzed

AU0203172993 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Commentary by Nadja Pengov]

[Text] Of course, we do not know what exactly made Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman speak about Slovene-Croatian relations and Slovene sins with his typical dose of negative qualifications at the news conference yesterday. True enough, the Croatian president hopes that the talks with the new Slovene Government will be more tolerable and that the two countries will resolve all mutual problems in the European democratic tradition. However, all this is merely an inevitable conventional curtsy if the president at the same time speaks of the Slovene occupation of Trdinov Vrh and recounts alleged slander by Slovene reporters, who he claims are disparaging the Croatian democracy and its ruling party. Not only the reporters but also the Slovene politicians do not understand the Croatian circumstances and its problems, either.

We really do not know what was in the background of the above sharp statements at Slovenia's expense. The proceedings of the talks so far and the experiences that we gathered in the two and a half years of futile negotiations prove that individual problems about borders and property surface into prominence when the talks on global issues are at a standstill. This is probably the case this time, too, with only one minor difference that, unfortunately, keeps repeating itself. While Slovenia, or at least the predominant, reasonable segment of the population, knows that Croatia is in a situation that makes it a highly sensitive and difficult partner in talks, the Croatian side rarely economizes with sharp statements and flounders on diplomatic tactics precisely at a time when the Slovene side speaks of positions drawing nearer and of the process moving on, although not with the desired speed. When the situation is as it is, and obviously not as favorable as the Slovene diplomacy would like to make it appear, then individual controversial issues surface into prominence.

Slovenia would like to resolve the relations in a package, while Croatia would like to resolve them case by case, and that is how it behaves regarding forests, waters, and Slovene property. Regarding the latter issue, Slovenia still naively believes that Zagreb will renounce the astronomically high taxes on Slovene property [in Croatia].

Yesterday's criticism concerning Trdinov Vrh, which sounded almost like a threat, demonstrated the impasse in which the Croatian policy has found itself, not merely in its relations with Slovenia but with Europe and the world in general. We are merely its first neighbor with unresolved issues which could, unfortunately, push us back into the Balkans again.

Federal

Kontic Elected Prime Minister; 3 Ministers Named

LD0303014093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2353 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Dr. Radoje Kontic was elected Yugoslav prime minister this evening.

The minister of defense in Kontic's cabinet, which won a majority support in both chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly, is Pavle Bulatovic, the federal minister of police in Milan Panic's cabinet.

The minister of foreign affairs is Vladislav Jovanovic, who is moving to this post from the post of Serbian foreign minister, while the minister of internal affairs is Djordje Blagojevic, head of the regional police in Nis.

Kontic Urges Lifting of Sanctions

LD0203205693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1957 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister-designate Radoje Kontic said in the federal parliament on Tuesday [2 March] that the lifting of the UN sanctions, the restoration of peace, and the achieving of a lasting and equitable solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia would be his government's priority tasks.

"That is a precondition also for us successfully to achieve other strategic goals, including Yugoslavia's reintegration in the international community and the reaffirmation of its state legality, the economic recovery of Yugoslavia and its development as a modern democratic state where law rules," Kontic said presenting his programme at a joint session of the two chambers of the Assembly of Yugoslavia.

"A continued battle for the lifting of sanctions, which is our unequivocal commitment, implies not only serious reservations and a refusal to reconcile with those sanctions but also the denial and rejection of the basic reasons and motives for their introduction," Kontic said.

"Serbia and Montenegro have uncritically been held responsible by the international community for the outbreak of the war, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) has even been proclaimed aggressor on Bosnia-Hercegovina," Kontic said. The Yugoslav prime minister-designate said that the "anti-Serbian campaign, which has acquired the character of the satanization of the Serbian people, has escalated in that context."

Kontic said that, by hastily and rashly recognizing the breakaway Yugoslav republics, especially Bosnia-Hercegovina, the international community directly influenced the tragic development of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

"By legalizing the forcible secession from the Socialist Federal Republic [SFR] of Yugoslavia, without any serious attempt at resolving the crisis through political talks and without respecting the right to self-determination of the Serbian people, too, the international community became an accomplice in the disintegration of the SFR of Yugoslavia [SFRY] and in the spreading of the war conflict in the region. The international community cannot circumvent its historical responsibility by shifting the blame to and unjustly punishing the FRY," Kontic said.

Kontic said that it was clear to everybody in the world who was well meaning that a classic civil, religious and ethnic war was raging in Bosnia-Hercegovina and that the internatioanl community's starting point that the FRY was the chief culprit for the outbreak of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, "even if it had been correct, has been superseded by the developments and a new awareness."

"The London and Geneva conferences, the UN Security Council and the peace initiative of U.S. President Clinton have recognized and accepted that a classic civil war is fought in Bosnia-Hercegovina," Kontic said. The Yugoslav prime minister-designate said that proof of what he had said was that all three warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina had been invited to the peace talks in Geneva and New York.

Kontic said that the key for the resolution of the drama in Bosnia-Hercegovina was strictly in the hands of the three national communities there, Serbs, Muslims and Croats, i.e., that it depended on their readiness to accept a negotiated option.

"The political position and future of Serbs outside the territory of the FRY is strictly a matter of their political will, their immediate interests, rights and decisions. The FRY urges a universal implementation of the principle of the self-determination of peoples. Taking that as a starting point, we will recognize and respect every consensus of the three constituent peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina," Kontic said.

Kontic said that the FRY had met all the requirements set by the UN Security Council and was rightly insisting that the sanctions introduced against it be lifted.

Kontic said in that context that early multiparty elections were held at all levels, from the municipal to the federal, in the FRY late last year.

The results of the December elections reflected the political sentiments and the will of the electorate "despite strong pressure and interference in the electoral process by numerous international factors," Kontic said. The Yugoslav prime minister-designate said that all political parties which had participated in the elections accepted the election results and urged the international community to take a positive stance towards the "legitimately elected representatives of the authorities."

"We are searching for a lasting, just and fair resolution of the position of Serbs in territories controlled by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which will respect their right to self-determination," Radoje Kontic said.

Kontic said that the FRY most sharply condemned Croatia's aggression on the Serbian people in the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK).

"We are demanding firm measures of the international community and the UN Security Council for the full implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 802, and if not, that measures be taken in keeping with Chapter 7 of the UN Charter," Kontic said.

"If such an intervention on the international community fails to take place, if the Serbian people remains alone and is exposed to another genocide, the FRY will be forced to protect it by the means it has and in keeping with the obligations it undertook when it accepted the Vance plan," Kontic said.

"Comprehensive cooperation with states created on the territory of the former SFRY will be one of the priority tasks of the new government's foreign policy," Kontic said.

"We again declare that the FRY has no territorial claims to anyone around it," Kontic said and added that the FRY would recognize the newly-formed states as separate entities "after the resolution of the basic open issues, which are discussed within the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia."

In addition to the lifting of the sanctions, Kontic cited as another high-priority task the FRY's reintegration in the international community.

In that context, Kontic highlighted the resolution of the FRY's status in the United Nations, the Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe [as received] and the International Monetary Fund, renewing its cooperation with the Council of Europe and the OECD. He underscored that the FRY's long-term aim was to become a member of the European Community. "Meanwhile, we want to immediately establish a special relationship with the EC on the basis of an agreement similar to the one the former SFRY had with it," Kontic said.

The FRY's orientation to Europe and the developed countries does not mean it is turning away from the Third World and the Nonaligned Movement, but that the FRY wants to continue its cooperation with these countries in new conditions, Kontic said.

General Deems Airdrop 'Test of Nerves'

AU0303100393 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 93 p 5

[Report by M. Markovic: "They Are Trying Our Nerves"]

[Text] General Bozidar Stevanovic, commander of the Air Force and the Antiaircraft Defense, has been literally showered with demands by editorial offices to reply to the reaction from and criticism by some political parties that recently appeared in the press on the occasion of his speech addressing reserve army officers in the Belgrade commune of Vozdovac.

On the same occasion, we also knocked at the door of the Commander of the Air Force and the Antiaircraft Defense in Zemun yesterday afternoon.

"If I replied to criticism that appeared in the press recently, it would look as if I am defending myself. I think that there is no need to do so. I stand behind everything that I said and any further polemics would be unnecessary. I advocated patriotic interests and nobody can deny that."

We took advantage of this opportunity and asked Gen. Stevanovic what he expects to be the outcome of humanitarian aid to Bosnia, which in fact began the evening before the last when leaflets were dropped on the region.

"Everything has been conducted with a view to pushing the already agreed peace negotiations in New York into the background," Gen. Stevanovic said. "All this is, to say the least, a rather strange test of the nerves of the Serbian people in Bosnia and the Air Forces of the Serbian Republic. I think that it will be short and that it will end just as it began, in a much more painless way than expected."

The question of the combat-readiness of the units of the Air Force and the Antiaircraft Defense was inevitable, now when the political situation in the country and the world is not favorable for us. General Stefanovic replied with a military precision;

"One of the strategic tasks at this moment that is particularly important for preserving moral, political, and any other integrity of the Army is to continue its transformation. We must abandon old habits, and organize an operative and efficient army by respecting above all the scientific knowledge and experience of modern armies of the world. It is high time that the army started at last to deal exclusively with its profession. The uniform should finally be given back respectability. The time has come to present the professionalism of soldiers and airmen as the only real perspective of the Air Force and the Antiaircraft Defense."

Army Paper on Islamic Threat to Europe

93BA0618B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Feb 93 p 17

[Article by Milan Mijalkovski: "Plan for Unitary Bosnian State: Islamic Terror Threatens Europe"]

[Text] *The commander of Alija's [Bosnian President Izetbegovic] mojahedin, Sefer Halilovic, announces: "If Europe does not change its position" (supposedly it is not* *in favor of a unitary Bosnia), "then we will take measures and begin organizing terrorist campaigns on its soil. Fires will break out in many cities of Europe."*

The finale of the Geneva negotiations on the former Bosnia-Hercegovina is known: Mate Boban signed on to everything—the maps of the provinces, the peace accord, and the constitutional principles; Radovan Karadzic endorsed the constitutional principles and the peace plan; while Alija Izetbegovic refused to sign on to the maps and the peace plan.

This offered the possibility that Alija's "peacemaking" pirouettes, although perfectly deciphered by the European establishers of "peace," will also be put to the UN Security Council test.

It turns out that it is extremely hard to ensure even the economic preconditions for the creation of an Islamic state in the borders of that former Yugoslav republic, because the Serbs have energetically rejected the possibility of living in such a state, while the Croats, despite the fact that they gallantly accepted the maps, have let it be known clearly that they do not recognize, nor do they intend to recognize, any central authority.

Alija Izetbegovic does not base his illusions on his own strengths and possibilities, but rather on the exhibited and expected support and assistance of certain subjects of the international community. Thus, one should not expect any change in his behavior, nor abandonment of his intention—to create an "Islamic Bosnian state, which will come into being sooner or later," something that could prolong the ethnic war indefinitely.

Unitary Means "Islamic Bosnia"

"I did not sign the maps of B-H and the peace accord because of ethnic cleansing," A. Izetbegovic declared without blinking. In so doing, he uttered an enormous untruth in an attempt to conceal his own moves and intentions by perfidiously changing the subject. He overlooked the fact that, for example, during a general offensive in mid-January 1992 on the left bank of the Drina—in attacks that were initially successful—his armed formations carried out not only ethnic cleansing, but also physical extermination of the Serbian nation in order to create an ethnic Muslim state. Just how many Serbian towns have experienced a similar fate?

Resolve in sticking to the attempt to realize obvious illusions was publicly confirmed by Sefer Halilovic, the commander of Alija's military. From his interview for the Spanish newspaper EL PAIS (27 January 1993), it is not difficult to conclude that the Muslim side advocates and is carrying out ethnic cleansing, a goal which it apparently intends to achieve throughout all of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. For example, Sefer Halilovic says, "No one at any negotiations can destroy the idea of a unified and sovereign Bosnia. They can sign whatever they want in Geneva. If this goal can be achieved at negotiations, then they are welcome. Otherwise we will fight for it on the battlefield." It is possible to conclude what this "unified and sovereign Bosnia" would look like from the next statement made by Halilovic in that newspaper: "In the future there can be no coexistence between members of various nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

We do not believe that Alija's sponsors are unaware of these facts. But if they nevertheless feel that the "president of Bosnia" is right when he asks as a precondition for acceptance of the peace plan that the unified character of the Bosnian state not be questioned, then they are acting in league with Alija to create an ethnic Islamic state. Indeed, the course of events inevitably unmasks even those participants in the ethnic war in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina who have been lulled by the possibility of constantly committing criminal acts from the shadows.

Until very recently, Alija's moves have been focused on laying the groundwork for inflicting military defeat on the Armed Forces of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], which according to assessments was the only obstacle on the road to creating an "Islamic Bosnia." The placing of heavy weapons under UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] supervision, the banning of flights by the air force of the Armed Forces of the Serbian Republic, the systematic deliveries of weapons and ammunition to Muslim formations from various countries of the world through Croatia, and the threat that the "democratic world" will intervene militarily against the Serbs: All of this was supposed to contribute to the realization of Alija's plan. However, something "unforeseen" happened—armed conflict broke out between Muslims and Croats as well, which placed their mentors in a delicate position.

Unable to reconcile that which is difficult to reconcile, the world peacemakers reactivated the theory about the need to lift the embargo on the export of arms to "sovereign Bosnia." This type of solution is pushed especially by Islamic and other countries that otherwise declare verbally that they want an end to the war in Bosnia. Advocates of this option, who have already been "illegally" supplying all sorts of arms and war equipment to the Bosnian Muslims, are fully aware that this would make the war flare up even more. That is precisely what they want, because they believe that the Armed Forces of the Serbian Republic must be defeated and destroyed, and since "discovering" the Croatian plans with regard to Bosnia they have held an identical position toward the Croats as well.

Time will tell whether the militant founders of the new world order intend to let the fatal showdown between Islamic fundamentalists and Christians be played out in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. The fact that they are giving in to Alija at this crucial moment instead of suggesting that he abandon his illusions could mean that they intend to execute the described scenario.

Incomprehensible Tolerance of Terrorism

Alija's jihad warriors have on many occasions openly threatened Serbs that they will cause an ecological catastrophe: the attempt to destroy the Visegrad Dam, the alleged placement of tanker trucks containing chemical warfare agents around Tuzla, the warning that they will destroy the earthen dam at the "Sasa" lead and zinc mine near Srebrenica.... The world has paid no attention to such monstrous Muslim threats, just as it silently has observed the terrorist campaigns that Alija's formations have systematically carried out against the innocent citizens of Sarajevo, generally attributing them to the other side.

Emboldened by the fact that they are allowed to do anything in their role as preservers of the "sovereignty of Bosnia," the leaders of Muslim formations do not even abstain from threatening the "old lady" (Europe) with what awaits her if she accidentally fails to keep her promises. The threat issued is completely convincing: "If Europe does not change its position" (supposedly it is not in favor of a unitary Bosnia), "then we will take measures and begin organizing terrorist campaigns on its soil. Fires will break out in many cities of Europe," declares the commander of Alija's armada, Sefer Halilovic.

It is simply unlikely that this fact slipped by this fine world that is carefully following and judging the behavior of all the actors in the war in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. Perhaps these threats are unfounded, expressed in a state of despair. Nevertheless, many circumstances indicate the contrary. We will emphasize only one of them.

A representative of the Croatian Defense Council (certainly well-informed) announces that there are several thousand mujahidin from Islamic countries fighting in the ranks of Alija's armed forces. Similar information is put forward by Mohamed Mohadesin, the director of international relations for the National Mujahidin Organization of Iran. In his words, one brigade (around 2,000 people) of members of the revolutionary guard has been sent to Bosnia. The very name, "al-Quds" (the Persian name for Jerusalem) indicates that these are holy, religious warriors of fundamentalist Islam. The basic purpose of the "al-Quds" forces, as specially trained soldiers, is to be sent to other countries in order to provoke fundamentalist unrest and carry out concrete military activities. One contingent of "al-Quds" forces has been located in Lebanon for a long time, and members of the U.S. Armed Forces previously stationed there have bitter experience with them.

If a terrorist core is actually created from the "al-Quds" forces and Halilovic's gang while the crisis in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina moves toward the option of being resolved realistically, then the disclosed threats promoting a "unitary Bosnia" are completely realistic. In that case, will the "democratic world" continue to blame the Serbs?

Serbia

Minister Says Danube Unblocked

LD0303022593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 2 (TANJUG)—Workers of the Yugoslav River Shipping Company (JRB) Tuesday [2 March] evening unblocked the Danube downstream from the Djerdap II hydro-electrical power plant thus enabling foreign vessels to continue on their way after several days of waiting, Serbian Transportation Minister Zarko Katic told TANJUG.

Katic noted, however, that the Yugoslav vessels still cannot sail the Yugoslav side of the Danube, because the Romanian authorities would not permit them passage through the common lock on the Djerdap II power plant, near the Yugoslav port of Prahovo.

Following several hours of negotiations, the JRB trade union accepted to unblock the Danube, as the Yugoslav and the Serbian authorities, Katic said, expected the Romanian authorities would adopt a constructive stand and allow the JRB and other Yugoslav shipping companies to sail the Yugoslav side of the Danube again.

Katic stressed that in the event the common lock was closed for the Yugoslav shipping companies, fresh complications in navigating the river would ensue, something, he said, that was not in the interest of any one Danube country.

Romania justifies its refusal to let Yugoslav vessels through the lock with having to adhere to the UN sanctions. The Yugoslav vessels, however, have the right to use the only lock at Djerdap II without any restrictions being part of the Yugoslav territorial waters, because Romania failed to build the other lock, something it was obliged to do at the time the power plant was built.

Commentary Says Serb Guilt 'No Longer Believed'

AU0203142393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 1 March 93

[Commentary by Stefan Grubac]

[Text] The U.S. spectacle of sending humanitarian aid to Bosnia from the air does not have to be a demonstration of force [sila], but is certainly a demonstration of might [moc]. Apart from the packages that no one has found as yet, more interesting are the messages that might fall from U.S. planes.

The Muslim side, and this has been known for some time, wants to provoke real military intervention at any cost. The Muslims have perhaps in their own way tested out the Americans.

The American answer could now be as follows: There you are, we too have done this for you, and we will not go any further. This is in fact indicated by the increasingly bad position of Alija Izetbegovic in his own Muslim community. Izetbegovic has never been in a worse position, nor has his negotiating capacity ever been weaker.

Izetbegovic was told in New York that the situations in Bosnia of a year and a half ago and now are incomparable. Izetbegovic simply does not know what to do and the protagonists in Bosnia will now have to be changed. The great powers, who have been realizing their interests with the help of others, with the help of the parties involved in the conflict, will now have to act increasingly openly, by suddenly activating the problem in Serbia, for example.

It was stated in Washington that the United States will intervene if the Serbs try something in Kosovo. Not only is Kosovo-Metohija quiet, but who the territory belongs to is also indisputable. It is therefore clear that wars start only when the masters of wars swing their mechanisms into action.

Finally, the stories about Serbia and the Serbs as the guilty parties are no longer believed by anyone, except the poorly informed and malicious, as was observed by Lord Owen when he said he was astonished by how much the U.S. public is uninformed when they thought that Bosnia is populated by Bosnians, and not Serbs, Muslims, and Croats.

The story about the responsibility of Serbia and the Serbs is also put about by the latest alleged warning by the Americans to Serbia concerning the southern part of the country. Those wretched Serbs who tell these stories about Serbia's responsibility were told everything by a U.S. congressman, who said: What do you expect from me when at least five of your opposition leaders claim that you are fascists and that you caused the war.

The authorities of Turkish President Turgut Ozal, who set off to surround the Serbs sinle-handedly, have killed more journalists than have been killed on all the fronts of the former Yugoslavia. In Turkey, which is headed by Turgut Ozal, seven journalists were killed. One was killed in a traffic accident, another one was found hanged at the end of a rope, quite apart from the crimes against the Kurds.

Despite everything, it is not natural that the United States with its democracy, and Turkey with its, should be allies when it comes to the Serbs, or at least not for a long time.

Krajina Military Subordinate to Belgrade

93BA0613G Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 11 Feb 93 p 5

[Article by Kresimir Meler and Mirjana Glusac: "When the Army Lacks Generals..."—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Concerning the letters that Hadzic and Babic wrote to Milosevic; "transactions" worth thousands of marks, and robbed generals; radical changes in the "threatened Serbian areas"; Arkan as an additional reinforcement.

"Mr. Milosevic, we ask you to do everything possible to keep the international conspiracy against the Serbian people from being carried out and to keep the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] from being left to the mercy of Croatian fighters. At this moment it is particularly important that you help us with command personnel and units trained for special tasks."

These are the concluding words of a letter that the self-styled president of the RSK, Goran Hadzic, recently sent on 24 January to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, chief of the Security Administration Nedeljko Boskovic, and chief of the Yugoslav Army's General Staff Zivota Panic. As we have learned from reliable sources, according to him "the incomprehensible fact that Serbia and the Yugoslav Army are watching with their hands folded the unprecedented offensive against the RSK and the organization of new pogroms against the Serbian population. That development of events is all the more threatening because our army's reserves are mostly no longer motivated for combat, since they have not received support from Serbia and the JOS [Yugoslav Armed Forces]."

In his letter, Hadzic also touched upon the behavior of several former Yugoslav and now Krajina generals. "Major General Stanko Letic, instead of sending the units that he commands from Plitvice toward Knin and onward toward Obrovac and Benkovac, closed the road and left with the units in the direction of Slunj (Seseljgrad), with the explanation that it was not clear to him what he was even supposed to do near Benkovac.

"He was accompanied by General Trifunovic, who was fortunate enough to detach 10 tanks from him and send them to the scene of the conflicts." At the end of his letter Hadzic asked Milosevic "to send, as soon as possible, the army and equipment, and also a reliable general to straighten out the situation in the Serbian Krajina's army and carry out the planned unification of Serbian units."

A letter was also sent by Milan Babic, who not only asked for assistance, but also thoroughly slandered Goran Hadzic. Among other things, he charged him with "keeping 70,000 German marks in aid that Serbia sent to the RSK at his new enterprise in Beli Manastir, and selling it through relatives and friends, thus earning more than 100,000 German marks. By agreement with Milan Martic and Milo Novakovic, he did not turn over the 680,000 German marks collected in Canada and Australia for the endangered people in the Krajina, and instead transferred the entire amount to his own account at Jugoskandik." That is still not all. According to Babic, Croatian, German, and U.S. spies, including General Milan Torbica, are swarming around Hadzic and Martic.

There was also a third version of events in the RSK, which was prepared by the chief of the KOS [Counterintelligence Service] at Mladic's headquarters, General Milan Gvero, with the assistance of Bosko Kelecevic and Milisav Gagovic, who are both well-known intelligence officers: Kelecevic was the top intelligence officer of the former Fifth Military District, and Gagovic, who arrested Izetbegovic last year, performed the same duty in the Sarajevo military district.

What can we conclude from this report?

It says in the very preface that "the combat readiness and security of the RSK have suffered great harm because of the departure of several active generals, who in 1991 fulfilled the trust shown in them and more or less liberated virtually all the areas where Serbs live. This particularly applies to Generals Slobodan Tarbuk, Milan Uzelac, and Ljubomir Bajic, who had to leave for Pale, Nevesinje, or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] because of threats from some people in the RSK leadership. These generals were most threatened by Goran Hadzic, Milan Martic, and the people gathered around them. On the other hand, after the departure of these prominent military leaders, the heavy weapons or some of the heavy weapons were turned over, and the consequence of this was the decline in military strength (...)."

Army Without Control

"Since internal security was completely neglected, Colonel Jovo Dobrokes, who was expelled from the JOS for embezzling money and selling weapons to third countries, was appointed Goran Hadzic's adviser. Most of the RSK's armed forces, which are now headed by people without military knowledge, have now completely gotten out of control, and their principal goal is not to protect the Serbian people, but rather to plunder, regardless of who the victim is.

"The path of General Milan Torbica and his escort, which also included Colonel Ljubisa Beara, was blocked near Plitvicki Ljeskovac by a tank, and the road was blocked for the column by three armored vehicles. The entire column was searched, and in the process 20,000 German marks intended for JOS officers deployed in the RSK and the Serbian Republic were confiscated from the general and his escort. On that occasion, a Golf with a radio set was also confiscated. When General Torbica reported this robber attack to Major General Martic, the latter sent him to Mile Novakovic, who explained to him that he had much better things to do than catch highway robbers all over the place. Not even the intervention by telephone of Generals Mladic and Dragojevic was any use, so General Torbica did not even receive an escort to the Serbian Republic's border.

"There are several armed formations active on the RSK's territory, of whom it is not known whose command they are under. This was particularly demonstrated during the Croatian army's attack upon the RSK's territory, when it was not clear who was in what position. Thus, Colonel Dobrokes withdrew 18 VBR [multibarrel rocket launchers] from the front, and thus allowed the Croatian forces to break through. He did not use the weapons that were available to him, because he was supposedly not sent ammunition in time, while in the meantime some reservists under his command fled to the opposing side along with their weapons. The situation on the front was only stabilized when General Gvero assumed command, in cooperation with General Berislav Popov."

Courts-martial for Civilians

The report also says that drumhead courts-martial have been established, and that they even cover people who are not military conscripts and did not even try to desert, but at most criticized someone in the municipal Secretariat for National Defense. Let us note that in most cases the courts-martial courts were established by leaders of paramilitary organizations, including Svetislav Vranic, Rade Prokic, Milos Markovic, Bogoljub Kruskovic, Josip Lazar, Deszo Molnar, and Milan Stojanovic.

That situation is seriously jeopardizing the achievement of military goals. Furthermore, during the battles with the Croatian army, several soldiers were under the influence of narcotics. That is the reason why there was recently a massacre at the Biskupija camp, when a certain tank driver fired a shell into a prefabricated barracks in which 47 soldiers died, some of them, among other things, also because suitable assistance was not given to them in time. At the hearing, this soldier stated "that he was convinced that it was an enemy camp in front of him."

There was a rift in the RSK's General Staff. One part wanted to leave its positions, and therefore dug in between Knin and Obrovac. That unit was attacked and partly liquidated, and the remnant withdrew to Velebit. There are also more and more clashes between the supporters of Goran Hadzic and Milan Babic. Their formations are clashing virtually every day, with all the weapons they have available. It was therefore decided that it would be necessary to institute extraordinary measures in the RSK's supreme headquarters, and reinforce the units in the field with personnel and equipment. The new officers would have to have full authority.

Subordination to Belgrade

Of course, such thinking could not be overlooked in Belgrade, and thus the FRY's Council for State Security decided on the last day of January that "in view of the situation and the importance of the fact that they are stopping the Croatian forces' penetration of the RSK's territory, it is necessary to subordinate the armed formations in this area. If they refuse to turn over authority, the appointed commanders have the right to use all means to normalize the situation."

Also appointed were the people who will conduct military operations in the "threatened Serbian areas" and the propaganda war in the future. Thus, Ratko Mladic, the commander of the Serbian Republic's army, has also become the commander of the armed forces of the RSK now. His deputy is Major General Momir Talic, and the chief of the General Staff is Major General Mica Delic. The changes still do not end with this. In fact, Dragan Vasiljkovic, better known as Captain Dragan, who was granted the rank of major by the Yugoslav army as a reward for his "successfully completed military missions," was also sent as a reinforcement. His task, and also Raznjatovic's, was to organize, train, and send into the field sabotage-assault units and to prepare assassinations and sabotage in the areas in Croatian hands. A large group of Arkan's Tigers and members of the 38th parachute regiment from Nis were sent from Serbia for that purpose. The Yugoslav Army's First Corps is also preparing to move to Hercegovina and the Knin Krajina—if necessary, of course, and if the Belgrade General Staff decides that it has to happen. It is probably unnecessary to emphasize in particular that this corps would not keep its old name, and instead the adjective "volunteer" would immediately be added to it.

We can also see how much the Belgrade authorities care about the survival of the "Serbian Republics" from the fact that the same decision provides "that it will be necessary, if the provocations continue, to reactivate fully or partially the Podgorica and Novi Sad corps, and adapt the names to local requirements. With respect to combat activities, none of their forms should be neglected at all."

Furthermore, the RSK's intelligence service and the department for moral and political education of the so-called RSK army experienced radical changes. Specifically, intelligence matters have been officially taken over by Vuk Obradovic, who is now responsible for the state of morale of the Krajina fighters. This youngest general in the former JLA [Yugoslav People's Army], after his departure from the military-political scene, which was caused by his deliberate resignation by agreement with Milosevic, has now triumphantly returned again—this time as well at the proposal of the leader for whom he has previously been an "adviser for state security."

So that everything would fit together beautifully, Mladic's command position was also changed. His headquarters is now, when it is not in the field, at Han-Pijesak, from which he can establish a telecommunications link with the JOS-VJ [Army of Yugoslavia] General Staff in Belgrade, with the air force and air defense command in Zemun, and also with the Podgorica, Uzice, and Nis corps. This move was not made without reason, since reliable sources close to the FRY government claim that Slobodan Milosevic decided on his own authority that "all actions on the liberated Serbian territories in Croatia and in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be controlled by the Serbian Government and the Yugoslav Army." The above location, in fact, in addition to a good base and communications with Belgrade, also has one more advantage, at least for Mladic's army. Specifically, very good communications are possible from there with the forces in Knin and Glina, and also in Beli Manastir and Vukovar, i.e., in the occupied Croatian areas. The change in location took place a few days ago.

Macedonia

Gligorov: Milosevic, Mitsotakis Plan Partition

AU0203142493 Tirana ATA in English 1130 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 2 (ATA)—In an interview with the Bulgarian newspaper KONTINENT, the president of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, stated that the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Mitsotakis, have talked with each other on the division of Macedonia. According to reports available, Milosevic and Mitsotakis have had some meetings where they have spoken about an eventual division of Macedonia between their two countries. It is clear that mutual relations between Greece and Serbia are, in this regard, a great danger for us, Gligorov declared to the above newspaper.

VMRO-DPMNE Leader Interviewed

93BA0610E Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 6 Feb 93 p 25

[Interview with Ljupco Georgievski, president of VMRO-DPMNE, by Joze Horvat: "The Thorny Path to Macedonian Independence"]

[Text] Ljupco Georgievski visited Ljubljana last Saturday, when he participated in a session of the European Democratic Union [EDU]. His party submitted an application here for acceptance into that international organization. The abbreviations in its name mean: VMRO: Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (it emerged back at the end of the 19th century, and its goal was an independent Macedonian state included in a Balkan Federation), and DPMNE: Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity.

[Horvat] We receive little information about Macedonia in Slovenia. We mostly hear about the Greek demands that Macedonia change its name if it wants to be recognized. What is the political situation in Macedonia like now?

[Georgievski] I would briefly describe it with the following sentence: Macedonia is completely isolated internationally, and not just politically, but also (and this is even more important) economically; with respect to internal security, for two and a half years now it has been expecting the possible beginning of a war or aggression by its former great friends, and the economy is in a catastrophic state. That describes the everyday life of Macedonians today, and you can imagine that it is more and more unbearable.

Horvat] We recently heard that the Serbs in Kuceviste declared some sort of Serbian Krajina that was supposed to be "independent" after the model of the Bosnian Krajina. What really happened?

[Georgievski] Look, there are about 40,000 Serbs in Macedonia, who are not all native, but instead moved into the republic either because of economic activity or as JLA [Yugoslav People's Army] military personnel. Now they want to be a factor in politics. On two or three occasions we have already witnessed the Serbs' demands that Macedonia grant them an autonomous Serbian province like the "Krajina SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region]" in Bosnia-Hercegovina. That would open up one more area for spreading the crisis in the Balkans and for the possibility of a new Serbian aggression, specifically with the well-known pretext that it is necessary "to save Serbian brothers" in Macedonia. I can say that fortunately, none of the provocations that have occurred has succeeded, simply because there are not enough Serbs in Macedonia, and also because the majority does not support them. Perhaps it is because they are aware where this would lead, since they see how the war that they started elsewhere is going.

[Horvat] How much truth is there in the news that Macedonia, in spite of the embargo, is permitting the transportation of Serbian goods and oil from Greece through its own territory into Serbia?

[Georgievski] I cannot say exactly. It is true that after the Security Council's first resolution Macedonia was still supplying the Serbian aggressors' army, and allowing Serbia to transport oil from Greece. As a party, we have protested several times against the policy of the current Macedonian authorities. I can say that at the border crossings I have seen dozens of Serbian tank trucks coming from Greece into Macedonia, but the Macedonian authorities did not take measures. And that is not all; a few months ago the Skopje refinery was still working for Serbian industry.

[Horvat] Macedonia already has its own army now, too. Is it capable of opposing aggression from outside and destabilization coming from its own territory?

[Georgievski] When we speak about this issue, I would like to say that there is almost no country that could not defend itself. The proof of this is also Slovenia, which showed that it was possible to make a stand against the Serbian—at that time still the Yugoslav—attack. It is just a matter of organizing the defense and of people's will or desire to fight. In this respect I must say that Macedonia has some industrial facilities that could be redirected toward the defense industry if necessary. The most important thing is organizing the defense, and also Macedonians' will to defend themselves if the republic is attacked. The JLA took everything that could be called military equipment out of Macedonia, so among all the former Yugoslav Republics, it has been left the least weapons from the former joint army. Let me emphasize that in spite of this, Macedonia can meet one of the main conditions for becoming a state, i.e., the ability to defend itself.

[Horvat] That means that you are counting in particular on morale and political factors in organizing the defense, i.e., on the national awareness of Macedonians. What is that awareness like, in your opinion?

[Georgievski] I can say that with respect to defense the main factor is national awareness, which is becoming stronger and stronger in our country. Just as in all the Yugoslav Republics, however, we have had problems with "Yugoslavism." That problem delayed the emergence and creation of the Macedonian state by more than a year. I can add that it is still appearing in Macedonia in some state structures. These are people who were in power for a long time and are perhaps still dreaming about returning to some sort of Yugoslavia. I am convinced, however, that most of the Macedonian population has realized that Yugoslavia no longer exists and that we have to organize ourselves solely as Macedonia and as Macedonians.

[Horvat] How is that awareness reflected in the political parties?

[Georgievski] In the elections that were held in November 1990, there were about 17 party programs in which the authors claimed that it was necessary to save Yugoslavia, and said that this was the only alternative for Macedonia. In those first free elections, the only party that supported an independent Macedonian state was our party, the VMRO-DPMNE. We thus accumulated a lot of difficulties for ourselves. Our party was the only one to declare the JLA an occupying army—all the other parties said that the JLA was ours and that it should be defended. You can imagine what our first elections were like. If some sort of basic agreement existed in Slovenia in the beginning, at least with respect to a confederation of independent states, such an agreement was formed very slowly in Macedonia. Today there is a better atmosphere for such views—at least on a verbal level, since at this time almost all the parties, except for a certain Movement for Yugoslavia, which has virtually no influence at all, are talking about the creation of an independent Macedonian state. In many cases such statements are suspicious, sine the parties, especially the left-wing ones and the ones with the above-mentioned Yugoslav program, are behaving very hypocritically toward that independence.

[Horvat] How has Macedonian culture acted toward all this? In fact, for many years it was the basis for building and developing Macedonian national awareness, especially if I think of some big events that were based on Macedonianism, the language, and cultural tradition, like the poetry festival in Struga, for example.

[Georgievski] As a party, we are somewhat disappointed with the Macedonian intelligentsia's attitude toward these matters, especially with respect to writers and cultural workers. We are disappointed because for a long time they were advocates of Yugoslavism and the generators of Yugoslav processes in Macedonia. I can tell you that many well-known names in Macedonian literature, science, etc., supported the idea of Yugoslavism for a long time, and it was only after the Yugoslav Army did what it did that they decided differently.

[Horvat] Where are creative people like Slavko Janevski, Ante Popovski, Mateja Matevski, Metodije Fotov, Eftim Kletnikov, for example, and other well-known authors, and how did they choose?

[Georgievski] (Laughter). It is hard to say now of some people who were synonymous with Macedonian literature for many years that they are fighting for an independent Macedonian state.

[Horvat] What are their arguments for it?

[Georgievski] The problem is that they do not have arguments, because at this time a normal person cannot have arguments in favor of Yugoslavia. Perhaps they had too many privileges in the previous Yugoslav system, since otherwise they would hardly stand up for Yugoslavia now. Although I have to emphasize that many cultural workers did choose the Macedonian national policy, there are still not enough of them.

[Horvat] What kind of support does your party have for its ideas in the public media? In your opinion, does a "plurality of public media" exist in Macedonia?

[Georgievski] Macedonia is the only republic in the former Yugoslavia in which the public news media are completely controlled by the former party authorities. There are more independent media in Serbia than in Macedonia, and there are also opposition party publications there—there is none of all that here. We do not have anything that could be called opposition.

Actually, all the media are under the direct control of President Gligorov and the ruling Communist Party. To illustrate, I can tell you that the central TV daily news program usually starts with the phrase, "Thanks to the wise policy of our President Kiro Gligorov, today we were able to do this and that...." We listen to that stereotype every day, but actually Macedonia is experiencing defeat after defeat.

[Horvat] Doesn't your party have any ability to influence the emergence of media plurality, or at least a pluralist structure in specific editorial boards?

[Georgievski] As a parliamentary opposition, so far we have raised that question four or five times; it was actually one of our first demands after entering the multiparty parliament. All our initiatives were blocked, however. At the next meeting of the Assembly this item will be on the agenda, and I hope that the discussion that will follow will bring a favorable outcome. If nothing else, at least opening up a possibility for establishing independent media. To be sure, we also do not have a law that would guide public media. That means that there is chaos in which only state enterprises for informing the public can exist, as it was in the old system.

[Horvat] A large Albanian minority lives in Macedonia. What is its attitude toward the Macedonian national idea, and the Macedonian independent state?

[Georgievski] I could illustrate the position of Albanians here with an example that you probably know: Albanians constitute a third of the present Macedonian Government. Those Albanians are also "reformed" communists, which means that they have not yet gotten rid of their communist prejudices. That is why we are justified in saying that a one-party communist system is in power in Macedonia. To be sure, in recent months we have encountered an unclear position on the part of the Albanian parties in Macedonia, i.e., a policy that completely coincides with the Serbian policy toward Macedonia.

In connection with that, we are therefore talking quite openly about an Albanian-Serbian coalition. In this regard, of course, we are disassociating ourselves from the problem of Kosovo and Albania, but when we are talking about Macedonia things are clear. Since the extremist Albanians are talking about a partition of Macedonia, the creation of a federation, the annexation of the Albanian parts of Macedonia to a Greater Albania, etc. That means that there is a clear scenario that coincides, for instance, with Seselj's saying that the Serbs and Albanians should partition Macedonia. All of this indicates that we have to deal with an unprincipled policy, which, after the nonrecognition of Macedonia as an independent state, is leading to great uncertainty.

[Horvat] The international community will nevertheless recognize Macedonia, however. There is no more doubt about it; the only question is when it will happen. Will recognition supposedly come from the United Nations?

[Georgievski] We would be happy if it came from the United Nations. They could have already recognized us a year and a half ago under this name, however. The only question that arises is why we waited so long and what kind of policy it was that did it. The most pathetic thing is that there is another big problem; President Gligorov has obviously assumed too much authority for himself, and for the second time now he has surprised all the Macedonian parties and citizens, since he agreed two months ago that the EC ministers would discuss Macedonia under the name "Macedonia-Skopje," and now he has proposed to the UN that Macedonia could be accepted among its members under the name "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia."

[Horvat] What does that name mean, in your opinion?

[Georgievski] First of all, a policy of dictatorial behavior, since the President thinks that he can change the republic's name himself. On the other hand, this name says that President Gligorov has not yet given up the name of Yugoslavia and the policy that he conducted up until a few months ago, and is tied to the possibility that Macedonia could again join a federation of some new Yugoslav state.

[Horvat] How do you personally perceive the pressure upon Macedonia to change its name?

[Georgievski] That it is supposed to change its name—that is something that has never happened before in the history of international diplomacy. It is a paradox, and an even bigger one because the demand is coming from some members of the EC which kept proclaiming the right to self-determination, human rights, minority rights, etc.

[Horvat] How would you explain to us Greece's hostile attitude toward Macedonia, which is manifested in the demand that Macedonia change its name?

[Georgievski] Look, the Greeks have invented thousands of reasons for their action in connection with Macedonia. As the main one they are citing Macedonia's name, saying that it is Greece's historical name—something that can be refuted by the very fact that until 1989 the administrative term Macedonia did not even exist in Greece. It is only in the last four years that there has been a ministry for Macedonia and Thrace. There is a great fear in Greece of presumed territorial claims by Macedonia at Greece's expense. If we compare the size of Macedonia and Greece, however, and especially their military potentials, then we can only laugh at such fears, since Macedonia obviously cannot go to war with Greece, nor does it want to. To be sure, the main reason is very clear. That is the Macedonian minority in Greece, a minority that has not had any rights whatsoever for 70 years now, and the Greeks claim that it does not even exist. They are afraid that with the establishment of an independent Macedonian state it would be easier to internationalize the issue of the Macedonian minority, and that it would be seen that Greece, which talks so much about democracy, has already been violating basic human rights for decades.

[Horvat] What is your party's power like for starting to influence events in the republic more decisively in the future? Is your party the largest in the Assembly?

[Georgievski] Formally, yes. We have 31 percent in the Assembly, and otherwise for two years now we have been conducting a policy of pressure upon the authorities, and we think that this policy has yielded some results. You can believe me that Macedonia, if the VMRO-DPMNE had not appeared in it, would now be politically similar to Montenegro. We are thus putting pressure on the authorities, arranging rallies, and persuading people at public forums and through the Assembly. That policy, however, has already been exhausting both us and the people for some time, and consequently we in the party think that we finally have to arrive at better solutions. We are therefore advocating the scheduling of new, early elections, and the formation of new authorities. The elections could be in June. Unfortunately, the economic situation is helping us in this—I say unfortunately, because we do not want a deterioration, but what can we do? The communists obviously do not have any new ideas and have not offered the people a single law that would at least somewhat neutralize the tensions in the Macedonian state.

[Horvat] How are you cooperating with the Slovene parties and with Slovenia?

[Georgievski] We have come to Slovenia several times, and you probably know that we have our own political representative here. It is Dr. Krste Pop-Stefanija, who is doing everything he can here for good relations between the local parties and the Slovene state and our party. As a party, we are open to all the political parties in Slovenia. We would certainly have good relations with the official authorities in your country; otherwise, we are politically close to the center right in European democracy, and the reason for our arrival in Ljubljana was the EDU session last Saturday. We were unofficial guests, and we submitted our application for our party to join the EDU. We have already had talks with the Slovene Christian Democrats in connection with this.

Kosovo

'Significant' Serbian Army Movements Noted

LD0203200093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Following the concentration and conspicuous movements by the Serbian Army on the Kosovo-Albania border, significant movements by artillery and infantry began yesterday and continued today within Kosovo itself.

The Kosovo Information Center reported today that a number of tanks, followed by infantry, left the barracks in Mitrovica and moved to Srbica, where they were positioned in strategic places of the municipality, which is mainly inhabited by Albanians. Over 30 tanks, accompanied by other weapons, have left the barracks in Slatina for Glogovac, the same source claims. The column, which looked like reserve army units, provoked passers-by, travellers, and village people.

A high concentration of the Serbian Army has also been noticed at several points in the municipality of Istok, as well as in the vicinity of Pristina, the capital of Kosovo. Albanian political parties in Kosovo warn that Kosovo has been very tense over the last two days. They fear that the Serbian authorities will cause a conflict which would have unforseeable consequences.

Vllasi Warns Albanians 'Running Out of Patience'

AU0303095693 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 3 (ATA)—The Kosovar politician, Azem Vllasi, warned that the Albanians in the once autonomous province of Kosovo are running out of patience. "The long-suffering people of Kosovo can hardly tolerate another year of constant oppression," he said. The Albanians' self-control does not mean "fear" from the Serbian invaders, but a "fantastic discipline," he said in an interview with the Austrian news agency, APA. The Kosovar Albanians are trying to maturely respond to the Serbian provocations not to give them pretext for a possible massacre, Vllasi said.

For Vllasi, placing Kosovo under the UN protectorate could be an acceptable solution for a transitional period, which should be followed by the creation of an independent state.

Commentary Assesses Kosovo Political Scene

AU0303202193 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 93 p 13

[Commentary by Behljulj Becaj: "An Enigma for Belgrade"]

[Text] Although the years-long pressure of the almighty state power in Belgrade is still causing most Albanians to gather around Ibrahim Rugova [Albanian leader in Kosovo], their political life is lately becoming more colorful, and two opposing tendencies are emerging.

The central figure in these internal Albanian tremors, that is becoming dominant on the opposite pole from that prevailing, Gandhian one, is the well-known Kosovo academic, Rexhep Qosja. Thanks to his prolific creativity and his recent political activity (best known for his motto "if the world does not allow two states, then let it allow one single, united, Albanian state"), he has enviable authority among the people. His recent attack on the current Albanian president, Sali Berisha, has definitely promoted him to the leading opponent of the prevailing policies on both sides of the Kosovo-Albanian border. As is already known, he has accused the president of the mother country of betraying the basic political interest of the Albanians in Kosovo.

Those who know Qosja well will say that his latest move, along with the earlier ones, is motivated by his awareness that his former image was insufficient to allow him to reach, let alone surpass, Kadars' [Albanian writer] position in Albanian literature and Rugova's or Berisha's in politics. This statement is substantiated by Qosja's open ambition to be the "father" of the nation, a term that another academic in the Serbian neighborhood has been using for a long time.

Qosja's verbal militancy is not very different either in essence or in the way his radical concepts are to be carried out, from that which is to be found among other Balkan peoples. The Serbian case demonstrates the senselessness of trying to realize national interests by force, with weapons and bloodshed. The basis for this type of national radicalism, including the emerging Albanian one, lies in propagating among the masses that which they want to hear, and withholding that which they should hear and know. To talk about wishes, yet keep silent about the consequences, is the shortest route to power and bewitching the people. However, Milosevic's Serbia is a clear example of how this shortest route, by threatening the people from within, can turn real national interests into something quite opposite.

Qosja's goal is total civic disobedience, quite unlike Rugova's, which is carefully measured out and avoids giving the regime a reason to create incidents and demonstrate force. He does not seem to want to differentiate between political convictions and existential limits and needs. For Qosja, willpower and possibilities in politics are identical rather than opposed categories. In ideal circumstances, a compromise between the two would be the goal of every policy. Not only in Qosja's case, but in many other, more significant and complex cases in the history of our continent, a departure from reality proved to be the main reason for the failure of many who tried their hand at heavy-duty politics. In Qosja's case, his view of undoing the Kosovo knot is compounded by the inborn arrogance ingrained in every true intellectual, which more often than not transforms his political-literary messages into preaching, a demand that others must constantly engage in soul- searching, and a permanent and tragic departure from reality. Needless to say, he is completely unaware of this. If we understand Qosja's platform in the way it should primarily be understood, as one very real option in the Kosovo situation, which will grow simultaneously with Belgrade's attempts to discipline and conquer the Albanians, then we must ask ourselves what the current effects of Qosja's attempts to overshadow the current policy in Tirana (and most certainly in Pristina) and its representatives, are?

First, Qosja's correspondence, full of accusations aimed at the number one man of the mother country, which had for its objective the degradation of the Albanian president's efforts invested in the Albanian cause outside the mother country, actually strengthened his position among the people on both sides of the border. On this side, because it became clear that even in crucial and delicate talks with international factors regarding help with the democratic and economic rebuilding of Albania, its president actively represented Kosovo's interests, so much in fact, that he became the target of a part of the public that said that he was more concerned for Albanians outside than for those inside the country's borders. On the other side, because Qosja's attacks absorb those of Berisha's opponents in Tirana, making it clear that his concern for Albanians on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is insufficient, rather than exaggerated. A capable politician soon turns this kind of attack into an advantage, so that today, Qosja's letters serve as an apology for Berisha and his political, pragmatic and down-to-earth attitude.

Secondly, regardless of whether Qosja's critics want to admit it or not, he was among the first in Kosovo who broke out of the framework of a unified attitude toward general goals and the ways in which they are to be achieved. In this branching out of political pluralism in

Kosovo, Qosja deserves more credit than Rugova. Moreover, in this context, it cannot be denied that Qosja's current is the only real alternative to the Alternative. However, Rugova's policy remains dominant among the Albanians, with the difference that in Qosja, it now has a worthy opponent and adversary, quite unlike Suroi's and Malici's lukewarm opposition. This means an additional worry for Belgrade, unless it wants to even more drastically lag behind in its assessment of tendencies in Kosovo, because today, the belief that "you only need to listen to Rugova to know what the Albanians are thinking," is proving to be increasingly off the mark.

Thirdly, this verbal militancy indirectly warns the international factor of the way in which things in Kosovo might develop if it does not support Rugova's policy of peace more concretely. In Kosovo, a quick change in resistance strategy can occur and the political goal can be maximally stepped up. With a policy of passive sympathy rather than active support, the international community might cause the Albanians to take a course of action similar to that of ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty] or IRA [Irish Republican Army] in resisting Serbia. That would be the end of not only Rugova's Gandhian attitude, but also of the much needed mediating role of the international community.

Finally, it may turn out that Qosja, by initiating this internal Albanian competition, has (not) purposely gambled away his reputation to speed up the solving of the Albanian issue. Time will tell whether he has voluntarily thrown the most powerful card on the table, so that his people can achieve the status of an equal participant in the Balkan roulette. So far, the signals he has been sending out have manifold meaning for all those who are tied up in the Kosovo knot. Apart from Belgrade, this includes Geneva and New York. The reserves of Albanian patience are at a critically low point, and they are increasingly closer to the moment when the reflex of self-defense automatically takes control over consciousness and its today still-valid assumption, that it is always more profitable to wait than to take a gun into one's hands.

As for Qosja, it is debatable whether he himself, along with other prominent writers who have tried their hand at politics, are capable of understanding that in reality, events do not occur according to their literary works and that it is far better to let the Albanians, Serbs, and all other peoples who are lucky enough to have their policies created by great literary artists, make their own decision as to whether they want to become the prisoners of not only the literary, but also of the political works of their literary giants.